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## Yipu: History And Perception Of A Suzhou Garden And Its Modernist Legacy

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# Yipu: History And Perception Of A Suzhou Garden And Its Modernist Legacy

## Abstract

This dissertation investigates the Suzhou garden Yipu through a close examination of its history, perception, and modernist legacy. Through delving into all the available textual and pictorial materials including local gazetteers, literati essays, poems, paintings, epigraphic records, pre-modern travel guides, street names, and on-site observations, the first chapter periodizes Yipu's history into five phases according to its physical transformation, and reconstructs the layout for each phase. Such examination breaks the bulky history of Yipu into small sections that allow details of its vicissitude such as periphery shrinkages, changes of its urban environment, additions and repairs of buildings and garden elements coming into the discussion. It reveals that the area of Yipu was greatly reduced during the first thirty years of the fourth phase, giving rise to its current configuration. The long-believed statement that Yipu's current configuration reveals the characteristics of a late Ming garden, the consensus view of most of previous scholarship, is thereby challenged. The second chapter examines how Yipu has been understood, conceived, imagined, and recreated by its owners, visitors, Suzhou citizens, and architecture critics, and further periodizes this long-neglected history into another four phases. I also emphasize that this part of the history of a garden should be equally treated in importance as its physical history, because it is to a great extent the real source of garden theory. Building on the discussion in Chapter Two of Yipu's perception during its latest phase, the third chapter explores the role Yipu and how the study of the Chinese garden played in China's architectural modernization. Through a detailed comparison with the role of the residence-garden Katsura in Kyoto and an investigation of the role of Japanese dwellings in Japan's architectural modernization, this dissertation identifies some of the historical reasons and difficulties that hindered the revival of a distinctively Chinese tradition of modern architecture during the second half of the 20th century, and China's active participation in developments in world architecture. I discuss the most influential individuals, including architects, architectural historians, educators and discipline founders, and multiple key events that determined the contrasting directions of China and Japan's architectural modernization.

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YIPU: HISTORY AND PERCEPTION OF A SUZHOU  
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**Yi Zhou**

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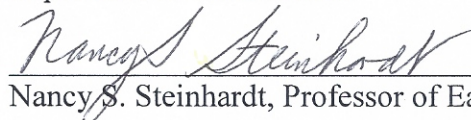
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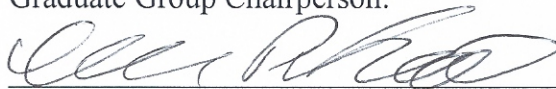
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*To my husband Dong Yugan, who introduced me to the world of Chinese gardens, and  
built one for me.*

## ABSTRACT

YIPU:

HISTORY AND PERCEPTION OF A SUZHOU GARDEN AND ITS MODERNIST LEGACY

Yi ZHOU

NANCY S. STEINHARDT

This dissertation investigates the Suzhou garden Yipu through a close examination of its history, perception, and modernist legacy. Through delving into all the available textual and pictorial materials including local gazetteers, literati essays, poems, paintings, epigraphic records, pre-modern travel guides, street names, and on-site observations, the first chapter periodizes Yipu's history into five phases according to its physical transformation, and reconstructs the layout for each phase. Such examination breaks the bulky history of Yipu into small sections that allow details of its vicissitude such as periphery shrinkages, changes of its urban environment, additions and repairs of buildings and garden elements coming into the discussion. It reveals that the area of Yipu was greatly reduced during the first thirty years of the fourth phase, giving rise to its current configuration. The long-believed statement that Yipu's current configuration reveals the characteristics of a late Ming garden, the consensus view of most of previous scholarship, is thereby challenged. The second chapter examines how Yipu has been understood, conceived, imagined, and recreated by its owners, visitors, Suzhou citizens, and architecture critics, and further periodizes this long-neglected history into another four phases. I also emphasize that this part of the history of a garden should be equally treated in importance as its physical history, because it is to a great extent the real source of garden theory. Building on the discussion in Chapter Two of Yipu's perception during its latest phase, the third chapter explores the role Yipu and how the study of the Chinese garden played in China's architectural modernization. Through a detailed comparison with the role of the residence-garden Katsura in Kyoto and an investigation of the role of Japanese dwellings in Japan's architectural modernization, this dissertation

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## INTRODUCTION

### Introduction to the History and Significance of Yipu

The present-day Yipu is located in the western part of the old city of Suzhou in Jiangsu province (fig. 0-1; fig. 0-2). Established in the twentieth year of the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign in the Ming Dynasty (1541) by Xuezheng 學政 [Literary Chancellor] Yuan Zugeng 袁祖庚, it was named Zuiying Tang 醉穎堂 [Hall of Drunken Brilliancy] at that time. The plaque hung above its gateway was inscribed “Chengshi Shanlin” 城市山林 [lit. mountains and forests in the urban area]. In 1620, the garden was purchased by Wen Zhenmeng 文震孟, the great-grandson of the famous literatus and master painter Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559). Zhenmeng also was the brother of Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 who is the author of *Zhangwu Zhi* 長物誌 [Treatise on superfluous things], one of the few significant garden-related monographs of the late Ming to early Qing Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The Garden was renamed as Yaopu 藥圃 [lit. herb garden] by Zhenmeng. After the fall of the Ming Dynasty, the garden was transferred to Jiang Cai 姜埰 around 1659 and was renamed as Jingting Shanfang 敬亭山房 [Jingting Mountain Villa] and then Yipu 頤圃 [Natured Garden]. One of Jiang Cai’s two sons, Jiang Shijie 姜時節 next inherited the property and renamed it as Yipu 藝圃 [Garden of Cultivation]. From then until the year 1839, the garden was sold and purchased by

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<sup>1</sup> Such monographs include Li Yu’s 李漁 *Xianqing Ouji* 閒情偶寄 [Causal expressions], Ji Cheng’s 計成 *Yuanye* 園冶 [The craft of gardens], Shen Fu’s 沈復 *Fusheng Liuji* 浮生六記 [Six chapters of a floating life].



several different owners, two of whom were merchants with the last name Wu 吳.

From 1939 to 1982, Yipu belonged to Qixiang Gongsuo 七襄公所 [Guild Office of Silk], was occupied by Japanese troops, then several social groups and institutions such as Qingshu Zhongxue 青樹中學 [Qingshu Middle School], Suzhou Kunju Tuan 蘇州昆劇團 [Suzhou Kun Drama Troupe], Minjian Gongyi Chang 民間工藝廠 [Vernacular Crafts Manufacturing Company], kindergartens, and warehouses. In 1963, Yipu was listed as a Municipal Preservation Site.<sup>2</sup> However, at the time renovation of Yipu was commissioned by the Suzhou City government in 1982, the original residential section was still occupied by multiple households of Suzhou citizens.

According to the record *Shi Wenwu Yuanlin Gujianzhu Diaocha Ziliao Huibian* 市文物園林古建築調查資料彙編 (1982) [Compilation of the investigational data of antiquities, gardens and historical architectures of Suzhou city], Yipu was classified as “half-ruined” at that time. From 1982-1984, the institutions and families residing within the periphery of Yipu were resettled elsewhere by the Suzhou Shi government and the property was renovated following the design by Suzhou Yuanlin Shejisuo 蘇州園林設計所 [Design Office of Suzhou Garden]. The construction was carried out by Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin Jianzhu Gongsi 蘇州古典園林建築公司 [Constructional Company of Classical Gardens of Suzhou] and was sponsored by the government.<sup>3</sup>

From October of 1984 on, Yipu opened to the public. In 1995, the garden was listed

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<sup>2</sup> Ke Jicheng 柯繼承, *Yipu* 藝圃 (Suzhou: Guwuxuan chubanshe 古吳軒出版社, 1999), 6-9.

<sup>3</sup> Lu Hongren 陸宏仁, “Suzhou mingdai yuanlin Yipu xiufu gongcheng jieshao,” 蘇州明代園林: “藝圃”修復工程介紹 [Renovation report of the Ming Garden Yipu in Suzhou], *Gujian Yuanlin Jishu* 古建園林技術 [Techniques of traditional architecture and garden] 3 (1988) : 27-35.

as a Provincial Preservation Unit. In 2000, it was inscribed on the Extended UNESCO World Heritage List of Classical Gardens of Suzhou.<sup>4</sup> In 2006, Yipu was inscribed on the National Preservation List as a Ming Dynasty traditional architecture.<sup>5</sup>

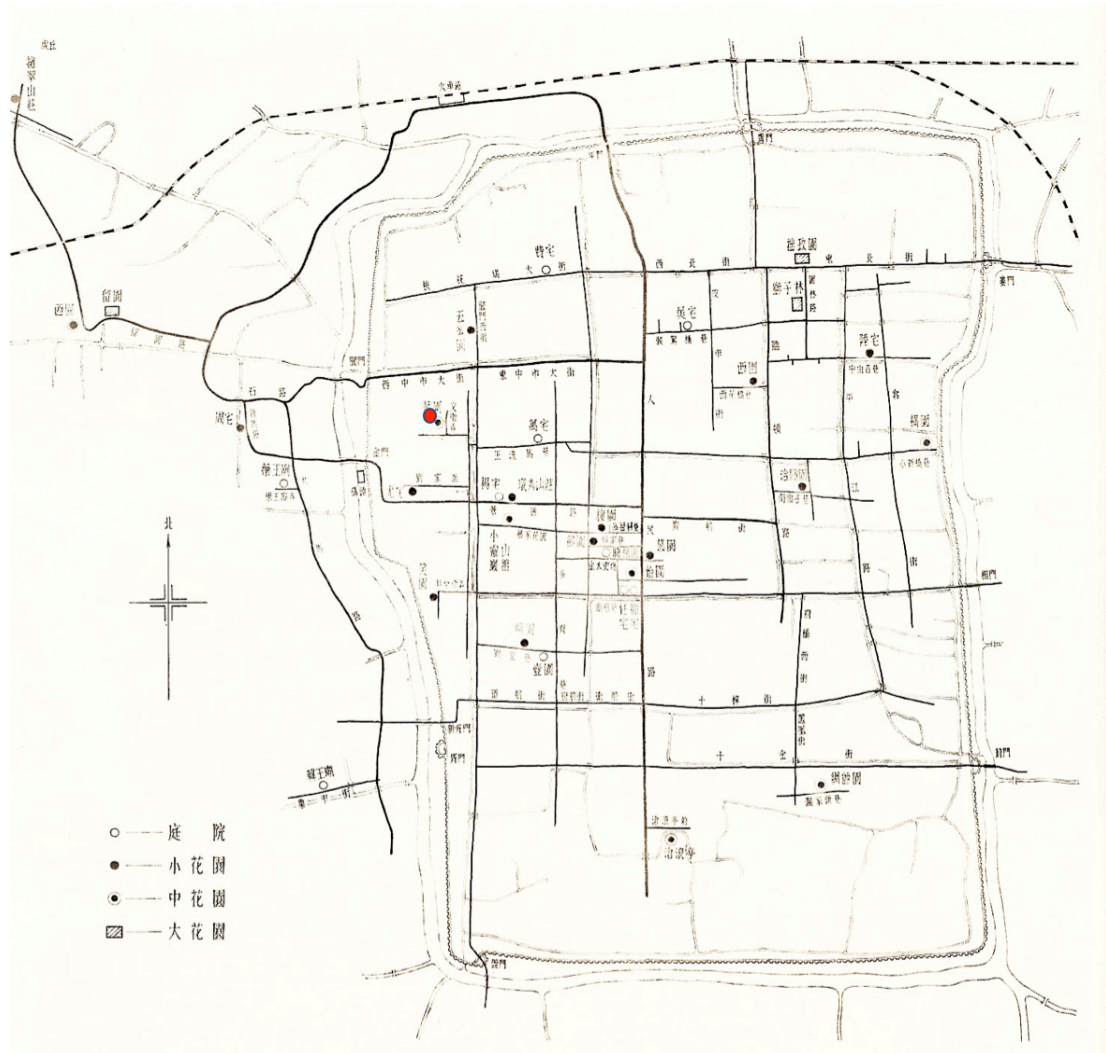


Fig. 0-1 The location of Yipu in the old city of Suzhou.

<sup>4</sup> ICOMOS, "Advisory Body Evaluation," Suzhou (China) No 813bis, September 2000. Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/813/documents> on 11/24/2016.

<sup>5</sup> State Department of China, "List of the sixth group of national preservation unit," [19], May 2006. Retrieved from [http://www.gov.cn/zwgk/2006-06/02/content\\_297818.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zwgk/2006-06/02/content_297818.htm) on 11/24/2016.



Fig. 0-2 The major scenic view of present-day Yipu, from inside Yanguang Ge 延光閣 toward the pond and the hill. Photo by Zeng Renzhen 曾仁臻, 2017.

The history of ownership of Yipu is relatively clear thanks to the efforts of historians of the Chinese garden. Among the extant Chinese gardens, Yipu has a fairly early date of establishment. Celebrated as a Ming garden, Yipu preserves not only a textual record that confirms this date but also physical evidence that can be traced to that period. Ruyu 乳魚 Pavilion in the garden shows the traits of a Ming structure, which distinguish it among all extant garden pavilions in Suzhou.<sup>6</sup> What currently remains of the garden is recognizable in the early Qing painting Jiang Zhenyi *Yipu Tu* 姜貞毅

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<sup>6</sup> Zhuozheng Yuan 拙政園 [Humble Administrator's Garden], for example, although it could also be traced back to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, none of the remaining structures in the garden reveals any Ming characteristics. Whether the arrangement of the water body and the mountain could be dated back to its establishment period is also unknown. Except for several names of scenery spots recorded in *Zhuozhengyuan Sanshiyi Jing Tu* 拙政園三十一景圖 [Album of thirty-one sceneries of Zhuozheng Garden] by Wen Zhengming, there is no concrete evidence showing that any structures or the mountains and water bodies from the Ming Dynasty had been preserved in the current garden.

藝圃圖 by Wang Shigu 王石谷 and the late Qing painting *Yipu Yaji Tu* 藝圃雅集圖 by Cheng Tinglu 程庭鷺. The availability of enough historical, textual, and pictorial records, gives the possibility of reconstructing Yipu's layout in different historical periods. This furthermore allows us to discern the changes of this garden phase by phase in the four hundred and fifty-odd years since established.

The early date of Yipu brings about another factor that contributes to its significance. It is related to the Wen family and their theories of garden design. It also has comparative and evidential values to other late Ming-early Qing garden treatises. Modern research shows us that Wen Zhenmeng and his brother Wen Zhenheng were very close although there is an eleven-year age gap between them. It is said that when Zhenheng was writing his book *Zhangwu Zhi*, in which garden making and how to live in a garden are the major topics, Zhenmeng was also present and participated in the writing.<sup>7</sup> Zhenheng also owned a residence with a garden which was named Xiangcaocha 香草垞 that was located near Zhenmeng's property. The brothers shared tastes in garden and concepts of garden design. Therefore, there are reasons to believe that a reciprocal reading of Yipu in its phase of Yaopu and the garden-related section in *Zhangwu Zhi* and other garden treatises of that time, will deepen our understanding of the history of Yipu as well as late Ming-early Qing theory of garden design.

Although Chinese architectural historians have surveyed Yipu along with other

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<sup>7</sup> Ke Jicheng, *Suzhou Wangzu Mishi* 蘇州望族秘事 (Suzhou: Suzhoudaxue chubanshe 蘇州大學出版社, 2013), 159-163.

Suzhou gardens, and the history of this garden's ownership is fairly clear, Yipu remains almost unknown to the western world even though it became a World Heritage site as part of the Classical Gardens of Suzhou. In comparison to other gardens inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage list such as Zhuozheng Garden 拙政園 [Humble Administrator's Garden], Liu Yuan 留園 [Lingering Garden] and Canglang Ting 滄浪亭 [Surging Wave Pavilion], it is also less famous. One of the reasons could be its fairly small scale (5 *mu*) in comparison to the larger gardens like Zhuozheng garden (83.5 *mu*) and Liu garden (50 *mu*).<sup>8</sup> Another reason could be the circumstances of its neighborhood. The present-day western part of the old city of Suzhou has largely preserved the configuration of pre-modern Suzhou. Narrow lanes, residential buildings in traditional style with small-scale modern renovations, spontaneously developed markets, and scarcity of public-scale modern buildings characterize the condition of its neighborhood. Tourists usually find Yipu difficult to find because it is hidden in this quiet and relatively underdeveloped neighborhood with many other old buildings. However, in recent years, Yipu started to catch scholarly attention again. Modern architects like Wang Shu 王澍, Tong Ming 童明, Dong Yugan 董豫赣 and Ge Ming 葛明, who are also critics and professors of architecture, have caused an upsurge in garden study with the goal of reviving the tradition of incorporating Chinese garden into the modern architectural design and theories, rather than merely absorbing inspirations from gardens or traditional study of garden history. Yipu frequently appears in their writings, teachings, and

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<sup>8</sup> 1 *mu*  $\approx$  66.7 square meters.

discussions, and has been visited, discussed, celebrated, and criticized. This phenomenon initiated inquiries such as: what is exactly so attractive about this small garden to these modern architects, critics, and professors? What should architectural historians learn from this phenomenon? How should this new trend of discussion be incorporated into the history of Yipu? Is there a continuity in the discussion about Yipu that could merge the historical and modern criticisms?

### **Research Questions**

The research questions of this dissertation center around the three notions in the title: history, perception, and modernist legacy.

Regarding the history of Yipu, how many episodes of construction were there? How much do we know about its architecture and garden elements at each phase? Can the layout in each phase be reconstructed through records, including ancient and modern maps, satellite images, local gazetteers, modern architectural surveys, names of scenic spots still in use, paintings, essays, and poems? In the reconstructed layouts, which part of the property is known for certain and which part can only be reconstructed by exercising our imagination? To what extent can Yipu be considered an example of a late Ming garden?

With respect to the perception of Yipu, how Yipu's owners during its different phases, their peer literati, and the contemporary citizens of Suzhou have conceived Yipu is the core question. In addition, how to understand the private nature of the so-called

“private” garden and how to understand the public aspects of the so-called *shengji* 勝跡 [lit. famous sites] will also be asked. What was the relationship between its public and private aspects? Was it an isolated and forbidden retreat for its owner exclusively for his small scholar-gentlemen circle or a welcoming space open to the public? If it was only accessible to those who had personal connections with its owner, how did common citizens who never visited the garden recognize, understand, and talk about it from what could be observed from the outside, the descriptions in scholar-gentlemen’s writings, the stories and the histories narrated in the travel books?

As for the modernist legacy of Yipu, my inquiries mainly center on what role Yipu played in the course of architectural modernization in China. In comparison to China’s neighbor, Japan, who also has a splendid residential tradition that was more or less influenced by the continent, how is the process of architectural modernization in China different from that in Japan? What had caused the differences? If Yipu was not paid enough scholarly attention, in contrast to other famous Suzhou gardens, why has it now started to catch attention from contemporary “literati architects” now? How do literati architects’ discussions of Yipu differ from those of historians? Which parts of Yipu have been the focuses of criticisms, by both historians and modern architects? Have these focuses changed over time? Why have they changed?

These three groups of questions will be separately examined in three body chapters.

## Literature Review, Archives, and Methods

### *Literature Review*

#### Modern Surveys and Renovations

The modern study of Yipu was not initiated until Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢 led his team to conduct a survey of Suzhou gardens between 1956-1959. Although Tong Jun's 童寯 *Jiangnan Yuanlin Zhi* 江南園林誌 [A treatise on Jiangnan gardens], which was written in 1937 and published in 1963, should be considered the first seminal modern work on Chinese gardens, unfortunately, one finds only a short sentence indicating its ownership and a hand-drawn sketchy layout about Yipu in Tong's book. Liu's work thus becomes the first modern study that incorporates Yipu. In 1956, Liu finished his article "Suzhou de yuanlin," 蘇州的園林 [The gardens of Suzhou] and first published it at the First Science Conference of Nanjing College of Engineering. After that, the Teaching and Research Group of Architectural History and Research Office of Architectural Theory and History of the National Department of Architecture and Engineering jointly investigated and surveyed several key gardens in Suzhou. Yipu was one of them. In 1960, Liu's first draft of *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin* was finished. This book was finally published in 1979, and before that, it had been revised and amended multiple times. The first set of modern drawings of Yipu thus is the result of the survey conducted during 1956-1959 (fig. 0-3). This set of drawings must have been an important document for Yipu's certification as a Municipal Preservation Site in 1963 too. In Liu's book, plans, sections of the garden, drawings of individual buildings, and photographs are extensively provided. In addition to the drawings and



photographs is a brief description of the history of Yipu and its current condition. Liu also includes a paragraph about his criticism of the design.

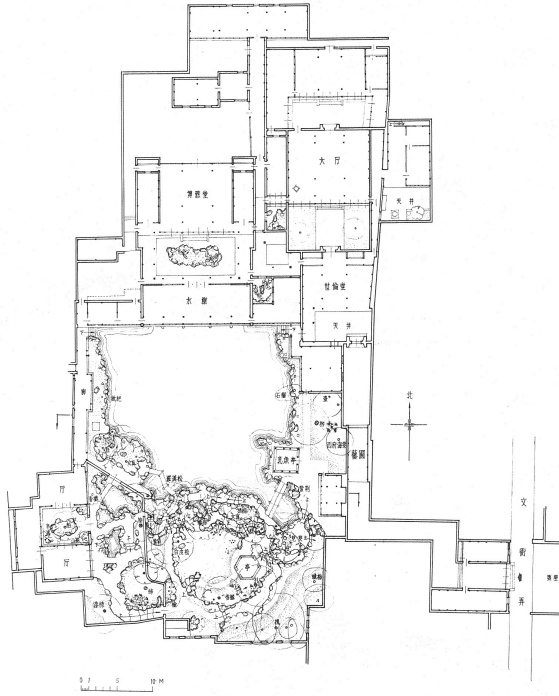


Fig. 0-3 Plan of Yipu. Liu Dunzhen. *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin*, 1979, 437.

In 1958, the Architecture Research Office of the Department of Architecture and Engineering of Tongji University compiled *Suzhou Jiuzhuzhai Cankao Tulu* 蘇州舊住宅參考圖錄 [Reference drawings of old Suzhou houses], which includes the results of the survey by students from the Department of Architecture and Urban Planning of Tongji University from 1957-1958, led by their teachers Chen Congzhou 陳從周, Luo Xiaowei 羅小未 and Chen Wan 陳琬. This item was published as an internal reference book in 1958, by which time we are certain that some of the outcomes of

the Nanjing Polytech University's survey works had been seen and referenced.<sup>9</sup>

Upon the renovation project conducted from 1982 to 1984, a renovation report of Yipu entitled “Suzhou Mingdai yuanlin: Yipu xiufu gongcheng jieshao” 蘇州明代園林——“藝圃”修復工程介紹 [Renovation report of Yipu, a Ming Dynasty Suzhou garden] by Lu Hongren 陸宏仁 was published in 1988.<sup>10</sup> In this report, Lu lists several referential materials that the renovation design is based upon, including the above-mentioned two surveys led by the two universities, old photos provided by Suzhou Yuanlin Keyan Suo 蘇州園林研究所 [Research Center of Suzhou Gardens], “Annual building renewal records” provided by Yan Gufang 嚴谷芳 during the time when Yipu was occupied by Vernacular Crafts Manufacturing Company during 1971-1981, and theories learned from the book *Yuanye*. The report meticulously records the condition of Yipu prior to the renovation and introduces the renovation plans of the main buildings in the garden one by one.

After these three works related to the physical condition of Yipu were published, photos and drawings included have repeatedly been cited, redrawn, and interpreted in different books about Chinese garden, in which the writings about Yipu are usually introductory and were among discussion of many other gardens. The sources these three works are based upon to outline the history of Yipu, including four garden

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<sup>9</sup> For example, the layout of Ou Garden 藕園 [Couple's Retreat Garden] was taken from Liu's book.

<sup>10</sup> Lu Hongren 陸宏仁, “Suzhou Mingdai yuanlin Yipu xiufu gongcheng jieshao,” 蘇州明代園林: “藝圃”修復工程介紹 [Renovation report of the Ming Garden Yipu in Suzhou], *Gujian Yuanlin Jishu* 古建園林技術 [Techniques of traditional architecture and garden] 3 (1988): 27-35.

essays on Yipu by the Ming and Qing scholar-gentlemen and one early Qing painting by Wang Shigu 王石穀, also become the most frequently cited sources by the following scholarship (fig. 0-4).<sup>11</sup>

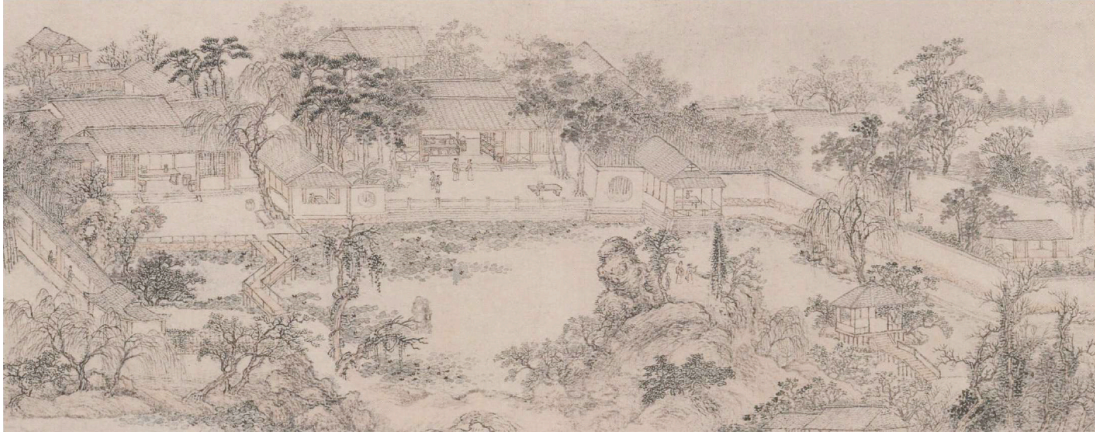


Fig. 0-4 Wang Shigu, *Yipu Tu* 藝圃圖 [Painting of Yipu], Early Qing.

### The Architectural History of Yipu

In Liu Dunzhen's one-page description of Yipu, he points out that the current arrangement of the pond and artificial hill of Yipu continues its old configuration of the late Ming to early Qing. Originally the *Ge* 閣 [water pavilion in this context] to the north of the pond did not exist, as one observes in Wang Shigu's painting (fig. 1-2). Instead, there was only a platform in front of the pond. To the west of the platform

<sup>11</sup> The four garden treatises are:

Gui Zhuang 歸莊. "Jingting shanfang ji," 敬亭山房記 [On the Jingting Mountain house], Guizhuang Ji 歸莊集 [self-collection of Guizhuang's writings], 1672, vol. 6;

Wei Xi 魏禧. "Nianzutang ji" 念祖堂記 [On the ancestral hall], Wei Shuzi Wenji 魏叔子文集 [self-collection of Wei Shuzi], Qing Dynasty;

Wang Wan 汪琬. "Jiangshi Yipu ji" 姜氏藝圃記 [On Mr. Jiang's Yipu]; "Yipu houji" 藝圃後記 [the second treatise on Mr. Jiang's Yipu], Yaofeng Wenchao 堯峰文鈔 [Self-collection of Yaofeng].

Besides these four, eight more Ming and Qing essays on Yipu will be included and analyzed in this dissertation. See Appendix I.

there originally existed some other buildings. The zigzag bridge recorded by Wang Shigu's painting was also absent at the time Liu investigated the garden. However, Liu never tells us when and why these changes have been made to the garden, and to what extent the current Yipu can reflect the original late Ming-early Qing configuration. Yipu's layout in different phases cannot be reconstructed from Liu's brief description. In 1999, Ke Jicheng 柯繼承 published a small book entitled Yipu, in which more literature including poems, couplet verses, travel books, and gazetteers are broadly collected and analyzed. He further studies the history of the buildings and scenic spots in the garden. Two more garden treatises are also found and included in his book. In my master thesis in history at Peking University (2011), I analyzed the relationship between the urban condition of Suzhou for garden making and the corresponding garden making strategies. Although Yipu is only one of the thirty-odd examples in this thesis, and its history was not fully discussed, through the close reading of a few ancient Suzhou maps, Shigu's painting, satellite imageries, and the study of place names, I point out the possible original boundaries of the garden during the early Qing period. In 2013, Lin Yuan 林源 and her student Feng Shanshan 馮珊珊 published two articles discussing the building history of Yipu, based on readings of Wang Shigu's painting, and Wang Wan's two treatises on Yipu, and they reconstructed several plans of Yipu in different phases.<sup>12</sup> However, due to the absence of the archaeological study of the urban environment of Yipu, the reconstructions only focus on the garden itself, but neglect the surrounding urban

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<sup>12</sup> Wang's two treatises are roughly contemporary with Shigu's painting.

condition. The historical boundaries of Yipu were not clearly outlined on the modern map. In May 2017, Lin Yuan and Zhang Wenbo 张文波 published the book entitled *Suzhou Yipu* 蘇州藝圃 in which more literature and the major findings of the former two articles are included. This book becomes so far the most comprehensive monograph of the historical study of Yipu.

### The Biographies of Yipu's Owners and Their Societies

In 2000, Ye Ruibao 葉瑞寶 published an article called “Yipu zakao” 藝圃雜考 [Miscellaneous research on Yipu], in which he studies Jiang Cai's biography, the building time of Yipu, and the meanings behind the names of scenic spots. In 2008, Li Huiyi 李惠儀 published an article called “Radical change and connoisseurship: a discussion of early Qing aesthetic style.”<sup>13</sup> In this article, Yipu and the furniture that belonged to the property were taken as examples illustrating trends in late Ming collecting and connoisseurship that have been continued and transformed in the early Qing period, and how “objects from the fallen dynasty” became the venue for historical memory and reflection. The social function of the garden and its objects analyzed in this article become a starting point of this dissertation in examining the perception of Yipu in different phases. In previous scholarship, the reading of historical travel books was only used to reconstruct the physical configuration of Yipu. But Li's article reminds me that such material can be read separately with the physical garden and be studied as part of the garden history on its own. Not only the travel

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<sup>13</sup> This article is written in Chinese. The author provides the English title and abstract.

books, but also the scholar gentlemen's essays on the garden, and name-giving of the scenic spots can also be read from such perspective.

### Spatial Analysis, Theories and Criticisms of Garden Making

Previous scholarship shows us that a few scholars are aware of the connections between *Zhangwu Zhi* and Yipu.<sup>14</sup> Because of the matched date of this treatise and Yipu, and the fact that the author of this treatise is the brother of the owner of the property, the aim of the comparative reading of the treatise and Yipu has never been questioned. Such reading seems to have a pure historical perspective and suggests that if the descriptions of the traits of a Ming garden recorded in *Zhangwu Zhi* can be found in Yipu, it proves that Yipu is an authentic Ming garden. However, using the current configuration of Yipu to compare to the records in *Zhangwu Zhi* is problematic. When this Ming treatise is used to discuss the design and space of Yipu, it becomes even more misleading.<sup>15</sup> A historical perspective aiming to find out the “authentic” Ming design and the standards to judge the design quality of Yipu are usually mixed and confused in such research. In this dissertation, I will discuss the appropriateness of evaluating the design of Yipu by the standards provided in

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<sup>14</sup> See Ke Jicheng 柯繼承, *Suzhou Wangzu Mishi* 蘇州望族秘事 [Anecdotes of big families in Suzhou] (Suzhou Shi: Suzhoudaxue chubanshe 蘇州大學出版社, 2013), pp:162; Tao Wenyu 陶文瑜, *Taihuji* 太湖記 [On Taihu Lake], (Shanghai: Yuandong chubanshe, 2008), pp:118; Luo Zhewen 羅哲文, and Chen Congzhou 陳從周, *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin* 蘇州古典園林 [Classical gardens of Suzhou], (Suzhou: Guwuxuan chubanshe, 1999), pp: 230.

<sup>15</sup> Typical works include “Qianxi yipu zaoyuan yishu: duibi” 淺析藝圃造園藝術——對比 [Brief analysis of the art of garden making in Yipu: contrast], *Beijing Yuanlin* 北京園林 [Beijing gardens] 02 (2005); “Jingpin dianji suzhou gudian yuanlin xilie yuoyuan” 精品點綴蘇州古典園林系列藝圃——浴鷗院 [Clicking on the masterpieces: the classical garden of Suzhou, the Yu'ou Courtyard of Yipu]. *Yuanlin* 園林 [Gardens] 09 (2007).

*Zhangwu Zhi*, and justify analyzing the design of Yipu by the garden-making principles recorded in *Yuanye*.

### *Archives*

#### Historical Literature, Maps, Paintings and Gazetteers

Historical literature about Yipu is abundant. It includes essays, poems, couplet verses and travel books. The former three types are often seen in scholar gentlemen's self-collections of their own writings.<sup>16</sup>

A collection of maps of Suzhou called *Suzhou Gucheng Ditu* 蘇州古城地圖 was published in 2004. It contains nineteen maps of Suzhou city from the Southern Song Dynasty until the Republican period.<sup>17</sup> Through comparing these maps to the modern satellite imageries, we will be able to decipher the changing urban environment surrounding Yipu, the boundaries, and the dynamics between the garden and its background. How the design inside the periphery of Yipu has responded to the ever-changing urban environment will be discussed in detail. I will uncover that Yipu was not always an enclosed garden, as we see in many other Ming and Qing gardens in their current conditions.

Two important paintings that help us reconstruct the configuration of Yipu are the

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<sup>16</sup> Such works are already mentioned above in the note 11. *Gui Zhuang Ji* 歸莊集, *Yaofeng Wenchao* 堯峰文鈔, *Wei Shuzi Wenji* 魏叔子文集 are three examples. Around ten items of Ming and Qing literati's self-collections will be used in this dissertation.

<sup>17</sup> Zhang Yinglin 張英霖, *Suzhou Gucheng Ditu* 蘇州古城地圖, (Suzhou Shi: Guwuxuan chubanshe 古吳軒出版社, 2004). See Appendix II.

early Qing *Jiang Zhenyi Yipu Tu* and the Late Qing *Yipu Yaji Tu*. Because both items belong to private collections, it was not until 2004 and 2013 that the digital photographs of *Jiang Zhenyi Yipu Tu* and *Yipu Yaji Tu* were available.<sup>18</sup> Although the former painting has repeatedly been cited by previous scholarship, a clear view of the details depicted on this item was not available until 2004. The latter painting has never been discussed by any scholarship about Yipu before.

Extant gazetteers of Suzhou are numerous. From the Han Dynasty through the Republican period, more than a dozen gazetteers have been written and preserved.<sup>19</sup> Although Yipu was not built until the late Ming and thus is not discussed in most of the gazetteers before then, gazetteers dated before the late Ming could still help us understand the changing urban environment of Suzhou and the history of the neighborhood of Yipu.

## *Methods*

### Urban Archaeology

Through comparing the maps of the city of Suzhou of different time periods and interpreting the records of Yipu and its surrounding urban environment in the local gazetteers, travel journals, and paintings dated from the pre-modern periods, as well as the data collected from the fieldwork in Suzhou today, the changing periphery of the garden will be traced on the most updated map in a series of drawings. The urban

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<sup>18</sup> Hanhai 瀚海 auction website provided this digital photograph. See <http://www.cc5000.com/hanhai/hanhai37.htm>

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix III.



texture in different phases, the changing scale of the garden, its relationship to the surrounding environment and the transportation systems of the city will be successively presented. Furthermore, the reasons behind the changes will also be analyzed.

### Methods of Treating Textual Sources

The nature of written sources requires more caution when it comes to graphic reconstructions, on the other hand, literary materials themselves could be considered a source for finding the perception of the garden. How was the garden of Yipu conceived by its owners, its visitors, or even common citizens? Reading literary materials while bearing such questions in mind, I will delve into the perception of Yipu aside from its physical configuration. Therefore, essays and poems about the garden will not only be used in reconstructing the repairs and renovations of the garden in its history, but also in interpreting the perception of the garden with other materials including the records of pedigree and biographies of the owners. This dissertation will also reconstruct the societies of the owners, not only their contemporary networks but also their histories. The hypothesis is that the renovations of the garden were not only coming out of functional considerations but also semantic formulas. How the repairs and renaming of the scenic spots related to the reputation and the social identities of its current and former owners also will be discussed.

## **Dissertation Outline**

Chapter I will venture into the building history of Yipu by dividing it into several phases. For each phase, reconstructions through the readings of historical literature, maps, and gazetteers will be provided. The old configurations of each of the current buildings and the overall design of the garden in each phase will be studied.

Chapter II will discuss the perception of Yipu in each phase and re-periodize the history of Yipu according to the changing perception through the readings of contemporary literature, and then look into how earlier descriptions of Yipu have been digested, conceived, changed, and incorporated into that of the following phases, and how the history of the garden has been told, learned and recreated over time.

Chapter III will extend the discussions in chapter I and chapter II by a comparative study of Katsura Imperial Villa in Kyoto, and Yipu. These two gardens with residential quarters share many common traits. Not only were they both built in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and renovated many times, they have also, in their respective countries, received the most attention from modern architects among all the historical gardens. In a way, they were both significantly incorporated into the process of modernization of architecture in China and Japan. From a comparative perspective, this chapter aims to recover what roles the modern discussion of these two gardens have played respectively in the transformation from traditional design toward modern design in China and Japan, and how they have taken part in the making of modernism in the two countries.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF YIPU: OWNER, CONSTRUCTION PERIOD, URBAN ENVIRONMENT AS CONSTRUCTED

#### **Yuan Zugeng 袁祖庚 (1519-1590) and His Zuiying Tang 醉穎堂 (1558-1590)**

##### *Construction Period of Zuiying Tang*

Yuan Zugeng, courtesy name Shengzhi 繩之, was born in Wu County 吳縣, the administrative domain of which was Suzhou Prefecture with six other counties.<sup>20</sup> His family was neither highborn nor wealthy.<sup>21</sup> Further, Yuan began his official career very young -- he was only twenty-three when he became a *Jinshi* (graduate who passed the court examination) in the twentieth year of Jianjing reign 嘉靖 (1541), so it is safe to assume that he may not have had the financial ability to build Zuiying Tang before he entered officialdom.<sup>22</sup> Yuan was “appointed Judge of the Civil Actions of Shaoxing Prefecture, then the Mayor of Yuyao 余姚 County and Jingzhou 荊州 Prefecture, and then he reached the highest position of his career as the Assistant Provincial Inspector-

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<sup>20</sup> Wu County and Changzhou County 長洲縣 had administrative offices located within the Capital city of Suzhou Prefecture (Suzhou Fucheng 蘇州府城), with the office of Wu county in the west part of the city and that of Changzhou in the east part of the city. The realms of the two counties were adjacent with the present-day Renmin Road as the boundary. Both of their jurisdictions were beyond the city wall of the old city of Suzhou.

<sup>21</sup> According to “Ming Zhejiang Anchasifushi Yuangong Muzhiming.” 明代浙江按察司副使袁公墓誌銘 [Epigraph of Mr. Yuan, the Assistant of Provincial Inspector-General of the Ming Dynasty Zhengjiang Province] and “Zeng Xianfu Yuanxiansheng Qishishou Xu.” 贈憲副袁先生七十壽序 [For the 70<sup>th</sup> birthday of Mr. Yuan, the Assistant of Provincial Inspector-General], Yuan’s ancestral home was originally in Wu County. His great grandfather was married into his wife’s family who was from Yangshan 陽山, Changzhou County with the last name Hui 惠. See Xu Xuemmo 徐學謨, *Gui Youyuan Gao* 歸有園稿 [Anthology of returning You Garden], *juan* six. See also Xu Jianguo 徐建國, “Jiexi ‘zuiying tang’ he ‘yaopu’” 解析“醉穎堂”和“藥圃” [Deciphering Zuiying Tang and Yaopu], *Lantian Yuanlin* 37.

<sup>22</sup> Translated by author from *Mingren Zhuanji Ziliao Suoyin* 明人传记资料索引 [Index of Ming people’s biographical materials] entry 4481: “袁祖庚，字繩之，長洲人。嘉靖二十年進士，授紹興府推官，歷知余姚縣、荊州府，官至浙江副使。年四十致仕歸，經營田業，不預外事，卒年七十二。”

General of Zhengjiang.<sup>23</sup> As an official, he was also known as “lawful and clean-handed, with ambitious political ideals.”<sup>24</sup> In the prime of life when he was forty (1558), he “resigned and returned [to his hometown Suzhou] to be engaged in agriculture, shunning outside affairs until he passed away at seventy-two (1590).”<sup>25</sup> Zuiying Tang was probably built after he returned to Suzhou.<sup>26</sup> Until Yuan passed away, Zuiying Tang had been his only property. No textual records indicate whether Zuiying Tang was subsequently renovated or expanded after it was built, but considering Yuan’s origin and the fact that he was a clean-handed official for his entire career, it is possible that in the beginning, the site selection and the initial construction were limited by the budget. This situation can also be proved by a description by Gui Zhuang about the surrounding environment of Zuiying Tang: “Houses are rarely seen but there are wild smog and abandoned ponds... The scholar-gentlemen of the Wu area usually do not prefer to live here.”<sup>27</sup> Besides, given that Yuan has named his house “Tang” instead of “Pu” 圃 [enclosure] or “Yuan” 園 [garden] as it would be called in later phases, we can imagine Zuiying Tang was probably the only significant building within the realm of this property.

#### *Urban Environment of Zuiying Tang*

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> See “Ming Zhejiang Anchasifushi Yuangong muzhiming.”

<sup>25</sup> See *Mingren Zhuanji Ziliao Suoyin* 4481; Jiang Cai 姜采 (1607-1673), “Yipu Ji” 頤圃記 in *Jingting Ji* 敬亭集 [Anthology of Jingting], *juan* six [The essay on Yipu]: “憲副四十投簪，耽情禽魚，此一地也，署曰城市山林”；Gui Zhuang 歸莊 (1613-1673), “Ba Jian Jijian Bian’e Hou” 跋姜給諫匾額後 [Post script on the back of Remonstrator Jiang’s hall plaque] (1671) in *Guizhuang Ji* 歸莊集 [Anthology of Gui Zhuang], *juan* four: “憲副中嘉靖辛丑進士，強士之年，即棄官歸。”

<sup>26</sup> According to Gui Zhuang’s “Ba Jian Jijian Bian’e Hou,” written in 1671, the property was built after Yuan gained the degree of *Jinshi* in 1541. But even if the property was built before he returned to Suzhou, he could not have spent much time in there because his base by then should have been at one of his working locales. Gui Zhuang’s writing was probably followed what he learned from Jiang Cai, who “searched the old stories and wrote ‘Yuan’s Zuiyingtang Huiji’ 醉穎堂會記 [Collected essays on Zuiying Tang].”

<sup>27</sup> Jiang Cai, “Yipu Ji”: “屋宇絕少，荒烟廢沼……吳中士大夫往往不樂居此。”

During the early Ming Dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, the founding emperor of the Ming Dynasty, issued decrees to move the people of Suzhou many times, which caused a drastic drop in population in Suzhou at that point. Among those moved were wealthy families of Suzhou, to the central capital Fengyang 鳳陽 in 1391 to enhance the capital's population. Although the relocated families were forbidden to move back to their origins, from the second generation onward, their offspring started to return to their place of origin, which caused a revival of the population of Suzhou. However, Wang Qi 王錡, a scholar born and who lived in 15<sup>th</sup> century Suzhou, maintained that during the Zhengtong 正統 (1436-1449) and Tianshun 天順 (1457-1564) periods, Suzhou was still not as prosperous as before.<sup>28</sup>

According to Mei Jing's 梅靜 research, from the mid-Ming on, within the city wall of Suzhou several zones were formed centered by different types of industries.<sup>29</sup> The western zone with present-day Renmin Road as the eastern limit became a district mostly dependent on market trading, whereas the eastern region prospered by the silk industries. Cao Zishou 曹自守, who lived in the Jiajing 嘉靖 (1522-1566) period, wrote in 1559 about the urban landscape of his contemporary Suzhou: "Governmental offices, officers' mansions, and commercial areas now are more centered in the west,

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<sup>28</sup> Wang Qi (1433-1499), *Yupu Zaji* 寓圃雜紀 [Miscellaneous record of Yupu] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1984, originally published in the Ming Dynasty), 42: "正統、天順間，余嘗入城，咸謂稍復其舊，然猶未盛也。"

<sup>29</sup> Mei Jing, "Min-Qing Suzhou yuanlin jizhi guimo bianhua jiqi yu chengshi bianqian zhi guanxi yanjiu" 明清蘇州園林基址規模變化及其與城市變遷之關係研究 [Study on scale change of gardens in Suzhou in the Ming and Qing Dynasties and its relationship with urban change]. Master thesis, Qinghua University, 2009, 108.

so the land within the city of Suzhou is vast in the east and narrow in the west. In terms of customs, the west is also more cultured than the east.”<sup>30</sup> At that time, the commercial center of Suzhou had already moved from the old market area of the Southern Song Dynasty, which was around Yue Bridge 樂橋 toward the northwest area of the city, extending even beyond Chang Gate 閶門 toward the Fengqiao 楓橋 district (fig.1-1).

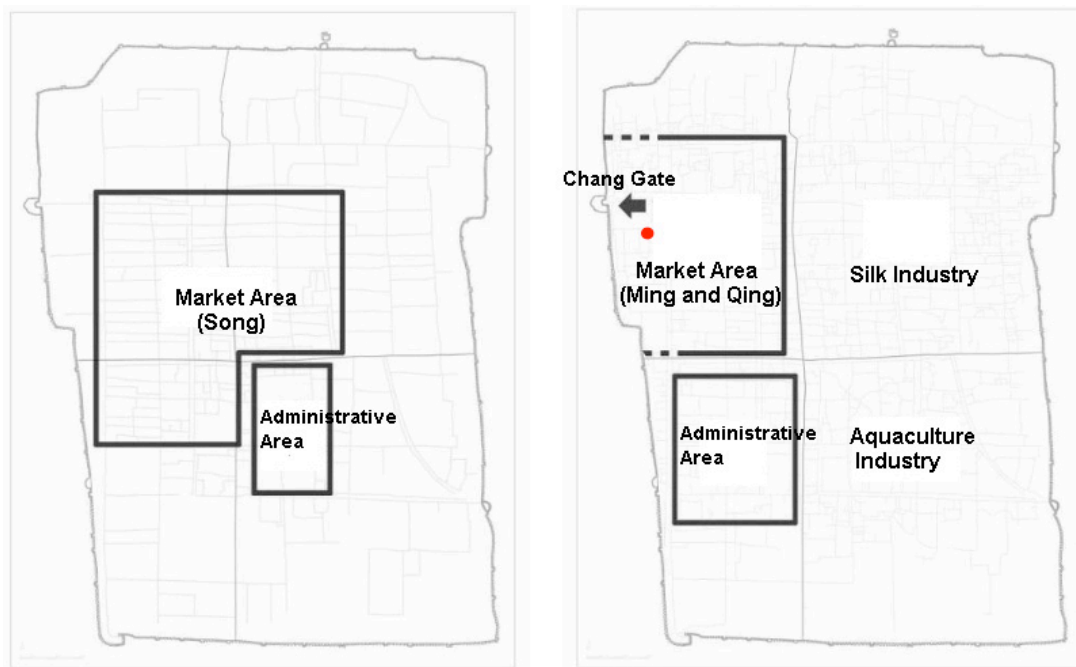


Fig. 1-1 Market areas, economic zones of the Song Dynasty and the Ming Dynasty Suzhou, with the location of Zuiying Tang marked with a red dot. Based on Mei Jing, “Ming-Qing Suzhou yuanlin jizhi guimo bianhua jiqi yu chengshi bianqian zhi guanxi yanjiu.” 明清蘇州園林基址規模變化及其與城市變遷之關係研究 [Study on scale change of gardens in Suzhou in the Ming and Qing Dynasties and its relationship to urban change]. Master thesis, Qinghua University, 2009, 109. Fig. 6.5.

As the third owner of the property, Jiang Cai (1607-1673) recorded in “Yipu Ji” that

<sup>30</sup> Cao Zishou, *Wuxiancheng Tushuo* 吳縣城圖說 [On Wu County with illustrations] (the fifth volume of *Tianxia Junguo Libing Shu* 天下郡國利病書 [Stakes of local cities under heaven], originally published in 1559): “公署宦室以逮商賈多于西，故东旷西狭，俗亦西文于东也。”

the property was “in the northwest of Suzhou city” which indicates that the location may not have moved since the Late Ming period.<sup>31</sup> The word he used, “偏 pian [out of the way],” and the description that “houses are rarely seen but the wild smog and the abandoned ponds....The scholar-gentlemen of the Wu area usually do not prefer to live here” indicate that by the year 1559, when Yuan chose this area to build his Zuiying Tang, this area might still be considerably underdeveloped but amid a highly developed commercial district where land was extremely narrow and wanted.<sup>32</sup> The location within the city wall makes the property seemingly on an “urban site,” but the real condition of the site can hardly be considered so.<sup>33</sup> According to “Yípu Ji,” one needs to make a turn from the “crowded market area” to reach Zuiying Tang, which must be the area around the main boulevard leading from Chang Gate into the city; even till nowadays, the two sides of the boulevard are still crowded with many shops in traditional style buildings (fig. 1-2). And then, he will “suddenly find a dim area that is full of dusky ruins” where Zuiying Tang is located.<sup>34</sup> The site is a piece of land

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<sup>31</sup> Jiang Cai, “Yípu Ji”: “其地為姑蘇城之西北偏。”

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. It is less than several hundreds of double-steps walk from Chang Gate. “距閶門不數百武。”

<sup>33</sup> According to Ji Cheng’s 計成 categorization of the six types of sites for garden making in his book *Yuanye* 園冶 [The crafts of garden], among *shanlin di* 山林地 [site in the mountains and forests], *chengshi di* 城市地 [urban site], *cunzhuang di* 村莊地 [countryside site], *jiaoye di* 郊野地 [site in the outskirts], *bangzhai di* 傍宅地 [site beside the house], *jianghu di* 江湖地 [site near the rivers and lakes], the urban is the most difficult one in which to make a garden because the urban sites are always narrow and without topographical features such as mounts and depressions, and are too noisy to create an atmosphere of real mountains and forests.

<sup>34</sup> The area of Chang Gate had experienced severe damage in the war of the early Ming when Suzhou was under Zhang Shicheng’s 張士誠 rule. During the Xuande 宣德 period, through a series of reformations of the economic policies by 況鐘 (1383-1442), who was by then the head officer of the prefecture, Suzhou’s economic situation has gradually recovered. Tang Yin 唐寅, one of the four famous gifted scholars who lived in the mid-Ming Dynasty described the prosperity of the area around Chang Gate in his poem titled “Changmen Jishi” 閶門即事 [The contemporary stories of Chang Gate]: the land of pleasure in the world is in the Wu area, in which [the area of] the Chang Gate is the best. Three thousand green sleeves are upstairs and downstairs at the brothels, millions of gold could be

about “ten *mu* (about 6667 m<sup>2</sup>) where houses are rarely seen.... Only retailers and work-hands perfunctorily settle their straw huts around here.”<sup>35</sup> Upon this unsatisfied site condition, Jiang expresses his inquiry in “Yípu Ji”: “To reach the entrance of the house (Zuiying Tang), one needs to pass the huts of the retailers and work-hands. What was the reason Xianfu (Yuan Zugeng) chose it to be the place of his home?”<sup>36</sup>

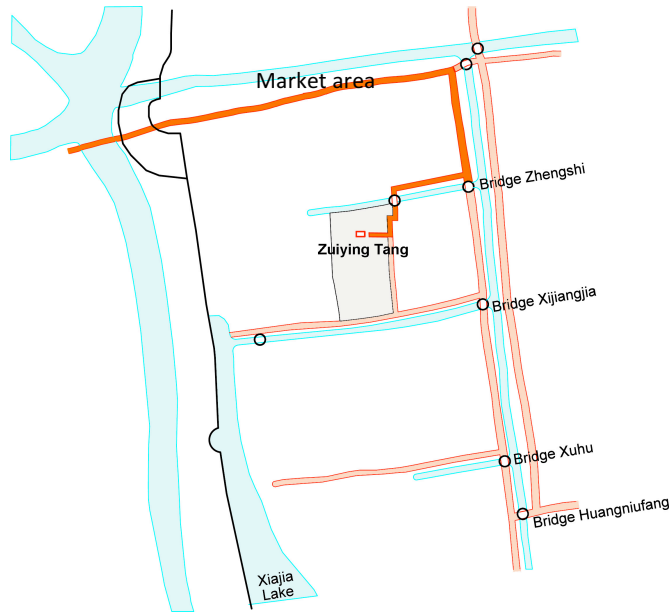


Fig. 1-2 Location of Zuiying Tang on a map of Suzhou (part), with the red line noting the path before one enters the periphery of Zuiying Tang.

As analyzed in the previous session, we understand that by the time Yuan built his Zuiying Tang the budget may have limited site selection and construction. But the result coming out of the construction was “attractive for its ponds, platforms, flowers,

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spent as water goes west and east. The night market is still on until 3 o'clock in the morning. Dialects from the four directions are always different. If one let a painter paint such prosperity, he will say it is so difficult to paint. 世間樂土是吳中，中有閭門更擅雄。翠袖三千樓上下，黃金百萬水西東。五更市買何曾絕，四遠方言總不同。若使畫師描作畫，畫師應道畫難工。”

<sup>35</sup> Jiang Cai, “Yípu Ji”: “地廣十畝，屋宇絕少，荒煙廢沼，疏柳雜木，不大可觀，故吳中士大夫往往不樂居此，惟販夫傭卒編草為室。”

<sup>36</sup> Ibid: “由其道以達於門，居之，宜不知憲副何取而有之？”



and bamboos, even it had undergone profound changes.”<sup>37</sup> One may be surprised how a site with such a poor condition could eventually become a place of attraction, even after so many years up to early Qing. However, if one re-examines the site by the garden-making standards of Ji Cheng, he may find out that this site does have several advantages regarding being turned into a garden. According to Jicheng, the urban site is the most difficult one in which to make a garden because the urban area is always too crowded and noisy, and the land is often limited. Noises make it difficult to create a tranquil atmosphere of real mountains and forests; the limit of the land which only allows a piece of rock and a small pond to be made in it also hinders it from achieving the ideal atmosphere of real nature, which is characterized by large water bodies and big mountains as a dyad -- *shanshui* 山水. However, in Zuying Tang’s case, a property of ten *mu* could be considered spacious in the area within the city wall; the environment was also not that noisy because it was located beyond the main street where the market was. There was a sudden change of atmosphere to be experienced if one makes a right turn from the main street and walks into its realm. Although the land of Suzhou has always been considered too flat for garden making -- Suzhou was named Pingjiang 平江 [flat river] in the Song Dynasty, this site was exceptionally full of “abandoned ponds” which provided preexistent topography of the concave and the convex that could be deepened and heightened into ponds and mounts of a garden. This site was also of “sparse willows and miscellaneous woods” which provided

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<sup>37</sup> Gui Zhuang, “Ba Jian Jijian Bian’e Hou”: “雖陵谷變遷，而此地之池台花竹，猶夫昔也。” *Gui Zhuang Ji* 歸莊集 [Anthology of Gui Zhuang], *juan* four.

preexistent advantages to achieve the atmosphere of natural forests.<sup>38</sup> Although the site was not visually pleasing before Zuiying Tang was built, its condition was indeed rare among normal urban sites, especially considering in the mid-Ming Dynasty, the western district was more crowded than the eastern district. Besides, such underdeveloped condition could have possibly offered Yuan a lower price, which made it possible for him to purchase an area of ten *mu* considering his financial circumstances were not that sound at that time. After all, he only managed to build one Tang, probably of three modular bays on a land expanse of ten *mu*. He might have planned to build more afterward, but with a property including a main hall, several ponds and platforms, flowers and bamboos, it is enough for him to enjoy a piece of tranquility by “being engaged in agriculture and shunning outside affairs.” One may notice that by the time Yuan’s Zuiying Tang was built, although it was simple, the four essential elements of garden making, which are the mountain, the water, the plants and the building, can all be found on this property.

If we zoom out to look at the larger map of Suzhou, we can find out that the site of Zuiying Tang was not the only example that bore the outskirts characteristics. For a very long time, the location and the territory of the walled city had been very stable, from the moment it had been built by Wu Zixu 伍子胥, commissioned by the Great King Helü 闔閭 of the Wu State during the Spring and Autumn period. However, the population of Suzhou fluctuated throughout the history. When the population was not

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<sup>38</sup> Jiang Cai, “Yipu Ji”: 地廣十畝，屋宇絕少，荒煙廢沼，疏柳雜木。

enough to occupy the entire area within the city wall, the area inside but near the city wall became less populated than the center of the city, which provided opportunities for gardens.<sup>39</sup> The whereabouts of the Zuiying Tang was right within one of these zones. Only with this understanding can we better annotate the meaning of the phrase of *chengshi shanlin* 城市山林 in the context of Zuiying Tang, which was inscribed by Yuan on the plaque hung above the entrance of Zuiying Tang. *Chengshi shanlin* by then was not a garden located in the middle of the city but still managed to achieve the atmosphere of *shanlin*.<sup>40</sup> Rather, the phrase was literally describing the circumstances of Zuiying Tang at that time.<sup>41</sup> The real reason it was given the description of *chengshi* was that it was located within the city wall (*cheng*) and near the city market (*shi*). The difficulties of making a garden on the urban site have never been the conditions of the construction of Zuiying Tang. This site was neither located among a densely populated noisy area nor limited by the narrowness of the land.

Jiang Cai, the third owner of this property in the early Qing Dynasty once commented that “it is not that Xianfu did not desire to be an official only, he did not desire to enter the mountains and forests either.”<sup>42</sup> In a way, Jiang Cai depicted Yuan as a

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<sup>39</sup> Mei Jing, “Ming-Qing Suzhou yuanlin jizhi guimo bianhua jiqi yu chengshi bianqian zhi guanxi yanjiu” 明清蘇州園林基址規模變化及其與城市變遷之關係研究 [Study on scale change of gardens in Suzhou in the Ming and Qing Dynasties and its relationship to urban change]. Master thesis, Qinghua University, 2009, 110. Mei Jing argued in her thesis that because the layout of the old city of Suzhou is a rectangle with a longer north-south axis, gardens in the early period were concentrated especially around the area near northern and southern walls where were comparatively unpopulated.

<sup>40</sup> Literally, *shanlin* means mountains and forests; *chengshi shanlin* was broadly used in depicting gardens in the urban area, because they provide the atmosphere of the real mountains and forests, but are located in the urban area.

<sup>41</sup> Gui Zhuang, “Ba Jian Jijian Bian’e Hou”: “顏其楣曰城市山林。”

<sup>42</sup> Jiang Cai, “Yipu Ji”: “是非獨不求仕宦也，亦不求必入山林。”

model who does not require both types of the external environments, but only pursues the self-fulfillment from his inner world. Yuan even named the property as Yípu 頤圃 to express the idea.<sup>43</sup> However, as a person who lived about 130 years after the Zuiying Tang was built, Jiang Cai may also not have been able to tell the real motive of Yuan selecting such a site to build his house. If it was not for the enjoyment of the *shanlin*, we cannot explain why he did not purchase a smaller land which could have been more affordable for him; we also cannot explain why the place was named *chengshi shanlin* and was described to be “attractive for its pond, platforms, flowers, and bamboos.”<sup>44</sup>

In conclusion, Yuan’s *chengshi shanlin* by then was not a garden that was made in the narrow and noisy urban environment, but rather a resort that originally bore the atmosphere of *shanlin*. It was only located within the city wall and near the market but was luckily exempted from noises and the problem of the limit of land which are common for average urban sites. Therefore, the understanding of the term *chengshi shanlin* should be slightly different from the standard explanation. Based on this term, which was an alias of the property, I will further discuss how the idea of garden making, and naming of the garden and the scenic spots of the garden had been

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid: “在《易》之《頤》曰：貞吉，自求口實。夫求諸己而不求於人，庶幾兩先生無所求而為之者歟！” The Yi hexagram in the *Book of Changes* says: ‘Yi indicates that with firm correctness there will be good fortune.... We must by the exercise of our thoughts seek the proper alignment.’ (Ctext translation, *Book of Changes*, Tuanzhuang 彖傳, Yi) If we were to say that to request from oneself instead of others, the two gentlemen (Yuan and Wen Zhenheng, the second owner of the property) have exactly asked nothing and made that garden!

<sup>44</sup> Gui Zhuang, “Ba Jiang Jijian Bian’e Hou”: “今先生之流寓於吳，雖陵谷變遷，而此地池台花竹，猶夫昔也。”

understood, reinterpreted, and modified in the following owners' perceptions in Chapter II.

### *The Configuration of Zuiying Tang*

We know very little about the exact layout of Zuiying Tang, but from the scattered records of this property, we are aware the land was of ten *mu*. Zuiying Tang was probably the only main building.<sup>45</sup> Other than that, there were merely several ponds, platforms, and plants in it. If the direct records of Zuiying Tang are not enough for us to reconstruct the configuration of it, indirect materials such as old maps, gazetteers, and records about its surrounding building complexes may help us at least to reconstruct the old boundaries of this property and to deduce the possible overall arrangement of it.

In Shan Shiyuan's 單士元 *Mingdai Jianzhu Dashi Nianbiao* 明代建築大事年表 [Major events of Ming Dynasty architecture], a record about the constructional history of Baolin Monastery 寶琳寺 gives a clue about the western border of the Zuiying Tang. Baolin Monastery, which was located to the west of the property, was built during the Yuan Dynasty. It was burned down in 1427 and was rebuilt in 1446.<sup>46</sup> From the map of Suzhou

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<sup>45</sup> Jiang Cai, "Yipu Ji": "地廣十畝。"

<sup>46</sup> Shan Shiyuan, *Mingdai Jianzhu Dashi Nianbiao*, the fourth volume, Temples, Bridges, and others. "Chongjian Jiannan Suzhou Baolinsi" 重建江南蘇州寶琳寺 [Rebuilding of the Baolin Monastery of Suzhou, Jiangnan] quoted *Qianlong Jiangnan Tongzhi* 乾隆江南通志 [Annals of Jiangnan during the Qianlong Reign] Four-Four: the Baolin Monastery is located to the northwest of the prefectural government. During the Zhizheng period of the Yuan Dynasty, Monk Yuanming founded it. In the second year of the Xuande period of the Ming Dynasty (1427), the temple was rebuilt, and the plaque was applied to be changed into what it is today. Within the temple, scenic spots consist of a palm path, a garden of phoenix trees, a pavilion of water and bamboo, a hut of camellia, a teahouse where to boil snow for the water to make tea, and a guest house named Tinghu [perching swans]. 寶琳寺在府西北隅 元至正間僧圓明開山,

made in the Qianlong reign (1745), we can see the place noted as Baolin monastery (fig. 1-3). If Baolin monastery has been there from the Yuan Dynasty, which was long before Zuiying Tang was built, adding the deserted surrounding of Zuiying Tang, we can imagine that there might have been no other buildings between the Zuiying Tang and the eastern boulder of the Baolin monastery at the time the land was purchased.



Fig. 1-3 *Gusucheng Tu* 姑蘇城圖 [Map of Gusu] (part, 1745). Note the location of Baolin Monastery.

By comparing *Pingjiang Tu* 平江圖 [Map of Pingjiang] (1229) to *Suzhou Fuchengnei Shuidao Tu* 蘇州府城內水道圖 [Map of Waterways in Suzhou] (1639) excerpted from *Wuzhong Shuili Quanshu* 吳中水利全書 [Complete Book on Water Conservancy of Wu], we may find out how the water system changed from the Southern Song Dynasty to the

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明宣德二年毀，正統十一年重建，奏改今額，內有耕欄徑，梧桐園，水竹亭，山茶塢，煮雪寮，停鵲館諸景。

late Ming Dynasty (fig. 1-4; fig. 1-5). The west-east waterway to the north of Yipu's block that used to be connected to Xiajia Lake 夏駕湖 was clogged in the Ming Dynasty map, and the waterway to the south of the block that was not connected to Xiajia Lake became connected to it. The obstruction of the northern waterway matches the description that this area was "dim and full of dusky ruins." Interestingly, we may find the block south to the Baolisiqian Lane 寶琳寺前 became enclosed by waterways on its three sides. Such change echoed with an increasing number of secondary east-west lanes in this block in the later period in the Qianlong map (1745), which indicates a tendency of a higher degree of populating and development of the southern block. In contrast, the longer depth of the northern block indicates an earlier occupation and development of this area and a decreasing speed of the land division during the early Qing.

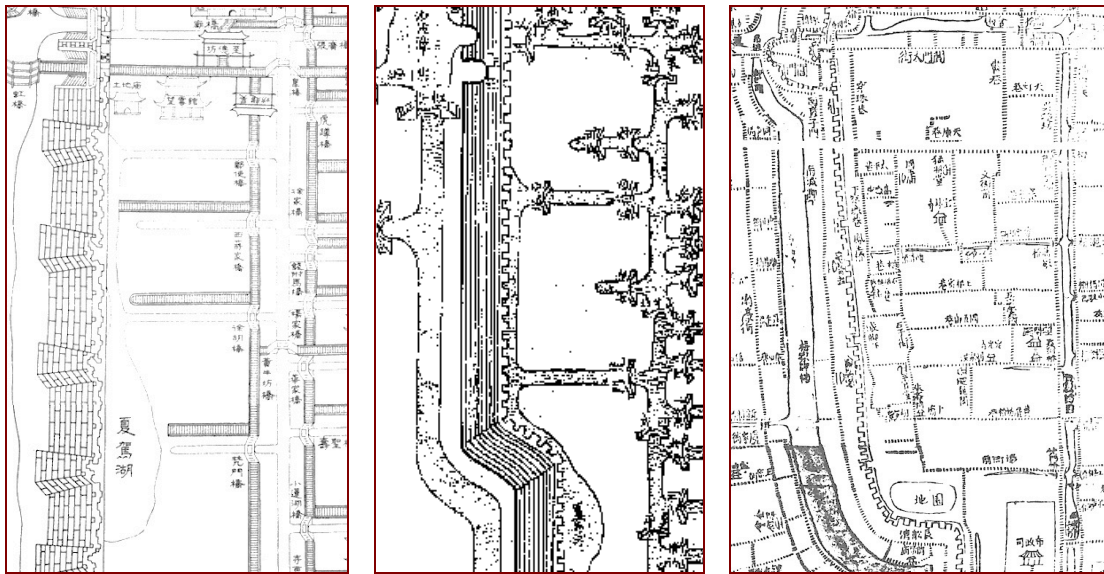


Fig. 1-4 The original *Pingjiang Tu* (part, 1229), *Suzhou Fuchengnei Shuidao Tu* (part, 1639), and *Gusucheng Tu* (part, 1745). Source: Zhang Yinglin 張英霖. *Suzhou Gucheng Ditu* 蘇州古城地圖 [Maps of the Old City of Suzhou]. Suzhou Shi: Guwuxuan Chubanshe, 2004.

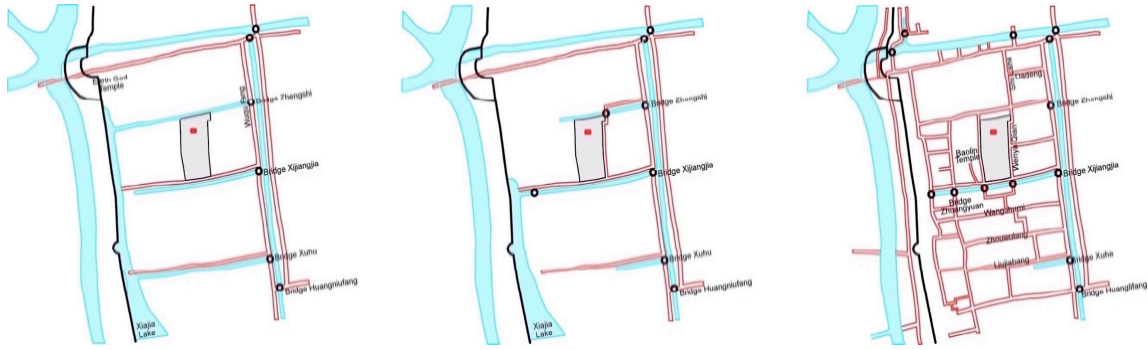


Fig. 1-5 Changes of waterways from *Pingjiang Tu* (1229) to *Suzhou Fuchengnei Shuidao Tu* (1639), and to *Gusucheng Tu* (1745). Retraced on the modern map of Suzhou by the author.

Considering the condition of the surrounding environment, it is possible that by the time Zuiying Tang was built, the property may not yet have had an enclosure constructed, as it would in the following period. In this relatively underdeveloped block, it should have been more like a small group of buildings with some defensive settings in the middle of the land, which, still bore some productive function rather than a garden enclosed by solid walls.

### Wen Zhenmeng 文震孟 (1574-1636) and his Yaopu 藥圃 (1620-1646)

#### *Construction Period of Yaopu*

Wen Zhenmeng (1574-1636) is the great grandson of the great literatus Wen Zhengming 文徵明 and Wen Zhenheng's 文震亨 brother who is fourteen years older.

After he passed the village examination when he was only twenty (1594), he had attended ten times the imperial examination before he was finally elected as the *Zhuangyuan* of 1622.<sup>47</sup> In 1635, he was promoted as Dongge Daxueshi 東閣大學士

<sup>47</sup> *Zhuangyuan* is the title given to the examinee who achieves the highest score in the imperial examination.



[Grand Secretary of the Eastern Pavilion], but for the friction with the Prime Minister Wen Tiren 溫體仁, he was soon accused as “self-dealing and revolting” and was dismissed. In Gui Zhuang’s “Ba Jianjijian Bian’e Hou,” he clearly stated that the property came to be referred as *pu* 圃 from the end of the Wanli’s 萬曆 reign (1573-1620) when Wen Zhenmeng had not yet achieved *Zhuangyuan*.<sup>48</sup> It is not impossible that the property was purchased before Zhenmeng became a *Zhuangyuan* because the noble Wen family had already contributed to the imperial house several prominent figures such as Wen Zhengming 文徵明 and Wen Peng 文彭 who had gained great fame and high positions from the Mid Ming Dynasty. The family must have had no problems providing him this place before he gained the title of *Zhuangyuan*, which could also be the reason why Yaopu was referred as the “place of study” of Zhenmeng.<sup>49</sup> However, in the following years till Zhenmeng passed away in 1636, he seemed not have been able to stay in Suzhou for very long time.<sup>50</sup> Along his up-and-down career was the decline of the Ming regime. In Zhenmeng’s biography “Wen Wensugong Zhuan,” Wang Wan 汪琬 (1624-1691) particularly mentioned that “from when he became a high official until when he passed away, which is 15 years in total, his house was just like the time when he was still a student. The land has not been

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<sup>48</sup> Gui Zhuang, “Ba Jiang Jijian Bian’e Hou”: “圃之名始於萬曆末年，公未及第之時。”

<sup>49</sup> Wang Wan, “Wen Wensugong Zhuan,” 文文肅公傳 [Biography of Mr. Wen Wensu] *Wang Yaofeng Jixuan* 汪堯峰集 [Selected collection of Wang Yaofeng], ed. Wang Wan, (Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1924): 72. “讀書之所。”

<sup>50</sup> In 1627, Wen for the first time was suspended from working in the imperial house. From 1628 to 1630, Wen was rehired and later expelled again. From 1632 to 1635, history seemed to have repeated itself and Wen was first rehired and then dismissed again. The time Wen stayed at his Suzhou home was only several months, from 1627 to 1628, and from 1630 to 1632. From 1635 he returned to Suzhou until he passed away was less than one year.

expanded even a bit; not even a single building has been added.”<sup>51</sup>

Zhenmeng did not see the last day of the Ming Dynasty before he passed away. To a great extent, it was fortunate that he also did not see the collapse of the entire Wen family. The Wen family members all experienced various kinds of extremes in the chaos of the fall of the Ming Dynasty. Zhenmeng's younger brother Zhenheng 震亨 (1585-1645) attempted to commit suicide twice after the Ming regime was replaced by Qing and in the end died by starvation in 1645; Zhenmeng's oldest son Wen Bing 文秉 (1609-1669) went into seclusion after the Ming Dynasty was replaced by Qing and devoted himself to writing till he passed away; Zhenmeng's second son Wen Cheng 文乘 (1618-1646) was adopted by Zhenheng, later lived a secluded life in the mountains, and was killed for fighting against the Qing court in 1646; Wen Bing's son Wen Dian 文點 lived beside the tomb in the farming patches without any permanent properties, painting and selling calligraphic works for a living; Zhenheng's son Wen Guo 文果 converted to Buddhism.<sup>52</sup> We are not sure when exactly the Wen family lost Yipu, but from the family members' encounters, we can almost be certain

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<sup>51</sup> Wang Wan, “Wen Wensugong Zhuan,” *Wang Yaofeng Ji*, Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1924, 72: “凡十有五年，至於顯貴，其第宅猶仍諸生時所居 從未嘗拓地一弓建屋一椽也。”

<sup>52</sup> Zha Shenxing 查慎行 (1650-1727), “Guo Wenyu ye Zhuwu Caolu” 過文與也(點)竹塢草廬 [On passing the bamboo hut of Wen Yuye]: “世家文物傳書畫，相國衣冠傍墓田。” *Jingyetang Shiji* 敬業堂詩集 [Poems of Jingye Tang], Siku Quanshu 四庫全書 vol. 1326. *juan* 18, 12b. After Wen Cheng had secluded, he was libeled to be the complice of Wu Jiang and Wu Yi (who were against the Qing Court) so was arrested to the local government. Cheng did not excuse his doing and calmly said: “Do not dare to insult my father. Otherwise I would like to die here.” He also made a poem: “My family name Wen is an old name that has lasted for three hundred years. I am dedicated to my country, but no one knows. Where my loyal soul returns is unknown. It will be the white cloud above the beachhead illuminated by the Ming moon.” Then he was murdered. “有誣其與吳江吳易通者，逮至官。乘不辯，徐曰：‘不敢辱我父，願就死’。並題詩曰：‘三百年前舊姓文，一心報國許誰聞。忠魂今夜歸何處，明月灘頭吊白雲。’遂見害。”

that it must not have been long after Zhenmeng passed away. It is possible that shortly after that, with Wen Cheng's moving out to his uncle's, Wen Bing, who was at that time twenty-seven, was the one who continued to stay in the property. Calling himself Zhuwu Yimin 竹塢遺民 [adherents of the former Dynasty living in low land planted with bamboo] and insisting not to enter the Qing court, he has probably lived without a regular income after 1644 and gradually became not able to maintain this property.<sup>53</sup> Under such circumstances, it is reasonable for him to choose to live secluded in the mountains. After sixteen years, when Jiang Cai purchased this property in 1660, it has been under-maintained for over sixteen years. Just as Jiang Cai wrote at that time, "It already became a place that could be described as 'several *mu* of abandoned garden.' It is highly possible that during these sixteen years before the property was sold to the Jiang family, the lands and buildings of this property had already been partly sold, especially the parts on the perimeters of the block (fig. 1-6).

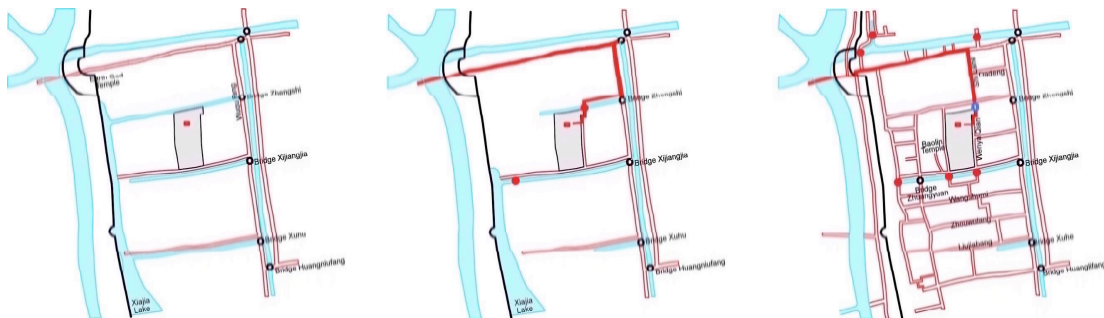


Fig. 1-6 *Pingjiang Tu* (1229), *Suzhou Fuchengnei Shuidao Tu* (1639, Yaopu), and *Gusucheng Tu* (1745). Note the way going to Yaopu from the Chang Gate Market area and the appearance of the new bridges, by the author.

<sup>53</sup> Wang Wan, "Zhuwu Shanren Muzhiming" 竹塢山人墓誌銘 [the Epitaph of Zhuwu Shanren]. *Dunweng Qianhou Leigao* 鈍翁前後類稿 [Classified essays by Dunweng], *Siku Quanshu Cunmu Congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 [Series of extant books of Siku Quanshu], vol. 44, p.9, Wen Bing.

Therefore, we can conclude that Yaopu was purchased and built not long before 1620 when Wen Zhenmeng was not yet a high official. The property was never expanded and renovated after that. The property was possibly under-maintained by Wen Bing after 1644. In 1660, it was purchased by Jiang Cai.

### *Urban Environment of Yaopu*

From the end of Ming to the Qing Dynasty, Suzhou had undergone wars during the dynastic change. However, after the Manchus entered power, policies encouraging farm land development were issued, which led to a growth in population during the early Qing Dynasty.<sup>54</sup>

From the *Gusucheng Tu* dated in the Qianlong reign (1745), we can identify the lanes called Shijian Langwu 十間廊屋 [covered walkway of ten modular bays] and Wenya Long 文衙弄 [lane of Mr. Wen's mansion]. They match closely the early Qing borders of Yipu, the location of which has been identified in the painting named *Jiang Zhenyi Yipu Tu* 姜貞毅藝圃圖 by Wang Shigu 王石穀 (1632-1717).<sup>55</sup> The name of the lane Wenya Long indicates that it was probably formed when the property was owned by Wen Zhenmeng. In the late Ming map of Suzhou (1639), however, the two lanes remain absent (fig. 1-4). Although one can explain that the principal aim of this map was to represent the waterway system, the bridges, broadly noted on the map with their names vertically

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<sup>54</sup> Mei Jing, "Mingqing Suzhou yuanlin jizhi guimo bianhua jiqi yu chengshi bianqian zhi guanxi yanjiu." p, 100.

<sup>55</sup> Yipu Tu was painted during the Kangxi period.

placed aside, give us a clue of the development of the lane system in this area. It is certain that the bridges linked to the south ends of the two lanes, Wenya Long and Shijian Langwu, remain absent until 1639 whereas the bridge connected to the north end of Wenya Long already appeared. The changes of the lanes and bridges indicate that Shijian Langwu may have made its presence later than Wenya Long and no earlier than 1639. The way of approaching Yaopu remained the same as in the former phase, which is making a right turn from the boulevard leading from Chang Gate, entering Wuqu Fang 吳趨坊 and further making a right turn to reach Wenya Long. The absence of the two bridges south of the property also suggests that by the year of 1639, the area to the south of Yaopu may not have been as populated as in the later period. There was still no need to have the two bridges to allow citizens living in the southern blocks to go across the waterway at the south border of Yaopu in order to go to Chang Gate Market. With the waterway south of Yaopu connected to Xiajia Lake, Yaopu was relatively isolated from the block to its south and was linked to the crowded area through the new bridge at the north end of present-day Wenya Long, as it appeared in the late Ming map.

Therefore, we can conclude that in the phase of Yaopu, the main way of reaching the property remained the same as in the prior period, which is the path indicated in red on the map (fig. 1-6, middle). From the time of Yaopu, the small lane leading to the entrance of Yaopu began to be called Wenya Long. The northern border of Yaopu was most likely within the waterway north of the property which was half obstructed in late Ming; the western edge may not have been firmly defined by any formed lane, but only by the

eastern border of the Baolin Monastery. The block south of Yaopu started to boom during this phase, as indicated by a dredged waterway connected to Xiajia Lake on the late Ming map. However, by then no one from the southern area would walk through Wenya Long to reach Chang Gate Market but rather through the west-east lanes linked to Wuqu Fang because there is no evidence on the late Ming map that indicates the appearance of the bridges that link the southern block to the block of Yaopu. At that time, Wenya Long was most likely serving exclusively for the Wen family to reach their property.

### *The Configuration of Yaopu*

Wen Han 文含, the seventh great grandson of Wen Zhengming, wrote a general description of the Yaopu garden in the *Sequel Record of Wen Family's Pedigree*. “In Yaopu, there are Shengyun Shu 生雲墅 [Villa of generating clouds] and Shilun Tang 世綸堂 [Hall of Generational Ethics] in front of which is a spacious court. There is also a big pond about five *mu* (around 3300 square meters) in front of the court. To the south of the pond is erected the Wulao Feng 五老峰 [Peaks of Five Elders], which are two *zhang* (around 6.7 meters) in height. In the pond, there is a hexagonal pavilion named Yubi 浴碧 [Pavilion of Bathing in Bluish Green]. On the right side of the hall, there is a courtyard called the Qingyao Yu 青瑤嶼 [Island of Blue Jade] in which five willow trees were planted, of which the perimeters are of several armspans.<sup>56</sup> Also, there are Mengxing Zhai 猛省齋 [Study of Sudden Realization], Shijing Tang 石經堂 [Hall of

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<sup>56</sup> Considering the Hall of Generational Ethic is facing south, “the right” here means the west.

Inscribed Stone Sutras], Ningyuan Zhai 凝遠齋 [Study of Staring Afar], and Yan Fei 岩扉 [Cottage with Cliff Doors] (fig. 1-7).”<sup>57</sup>

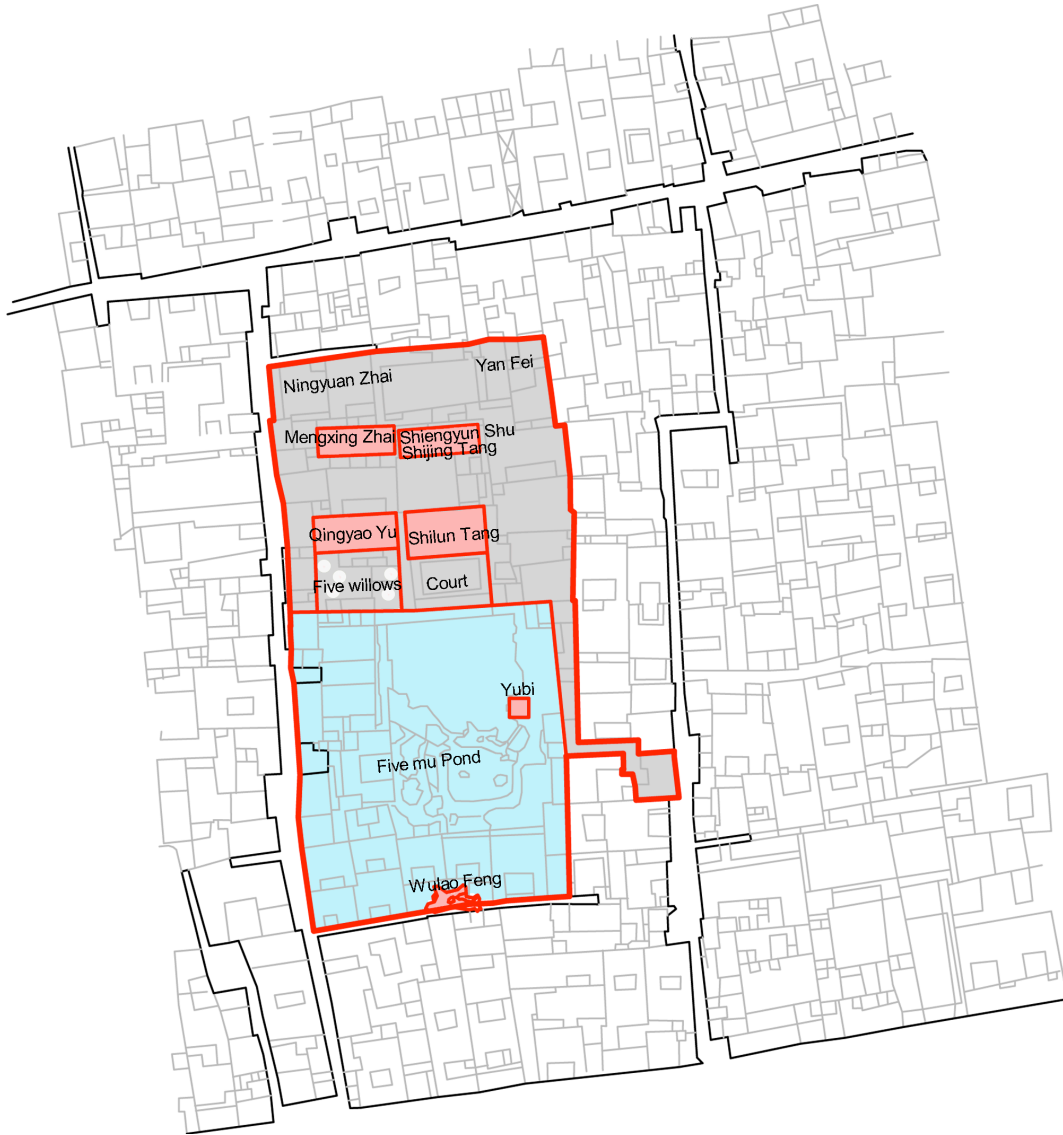


Fig. 1-7 Reconstructed layout of Yaopu on present-day satellite map, by the author.

<sup>57</sup> Wen Han 文含, *Wenshi Zupu Xuji* 文氏族譜續集 [Sequel record of Wen family's pedigree] “藥園中有生雲墅，世綸堂，堂前廣庭，庭前大池五畝許。池南垒石為五老峰，高二丈。池中有六角亭，名浴碧。堂之右為青瑤嶼，庭植五柳，大可數圍。尚有猛省齋，石經堂，凝遠齋，岩扉。” Li Genyuan 李根源. *Lishi Dizhai Fangbiaozhi* 歷世第宅坊表志 [Record of mansions and neighborhoods in the history], *Qushi Congshu* 曲石叢書 [Qushi series], 1928.

From Wen Han's description, we can briefly outline the arrangement of the artifacts in Yaopu. But one point we need to notice about his description is that as the seventh great grandson of Wen Zhengming and Wen Bing's grandson, he was probably born after 1650, which was after Wen Bing moved his entire family deep into the mountain to escape from the Qing court's persecution. Since the house in the city cannot have been lived in any longer, selling it part by part was a reasonable choice for the good of the entire family. Therefore, Wen Han could not possibly have lived in Yaopu. His description may have been based on his family members' oral and written history of the old house. To some extent, his understanding of Yaopu may not have been more precise than Jiang's, since one of them had done serious research about the property's history after moving in.<sup>58</sup>

From Wen Han's description, we can outline the arrangement of artifacts in Yaopu as illustrated in fig. 1-7. In his description, the elements on the main axis of the garden are first described. Thus, Shengyun Shu, which appeared before Shilun Tang, the pond and the artificial mountain Wulao Feng in the south, were probably located to the north of Shilun Tang as a more private section in comparison to the Shilun Tang where the host receives his guests and holds important ceremonies of the family. The nature of

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<sup>58</sup> Author name lost, "Jiang Zhongzi Heke Zuiyingtang Yaopu Shiwen ji" 姜仲子(實節)合刻醉穎堂藥圃詩文記 [On Jiang's second son jointly reprinting poems and essays on Zuiying Tang and Yaopu]. Ren Jiyu 任繼愈. *Zhonghua Chuanshi Wenxuan* 中華傳世文選 [Selection of inherited literature of China], "Qingchao Wenzheng" 清朝文征 [Qing Dynasty Collection], volume I. Jilin Renmin Chubanshe, 1998. 274. Mister Jiang's second son who loves reading and history, searched for old anecdotes, and has collected Xianfu's *Zuiying Tang Huiji* and Mr. Wen Su's *Yaopu Zashi* [Miscellaneous poems of Yaopu], and jointly reprinted them into a book named *Donglai Caotang Gushi* [Old stories of Donglai Caotang]. I was entrusted to write an essay on it. "先生之仲子，讀書懷古，搜羅舊聞，得憲副醉穎堂會記及文肅公藥圃雜詩，合刻之為東萊草堂故實，而屬余為之記。"



Shengyun Shu as a more private quarter is also indicated by its naming as a “Shu,” which is normally used for a secondary villa outside the urban area. The court planted with five willows called Qingyao Yu is on a secondary axis. On the one hand, its name bears a Taoist origin, thus gaining some meaning of seclusion. On the other hand, it fits with the cool feeling that the willow trees may provide. Since the five willow trees were already aged in this description, which stated that it required a few people together to embrace one tree with their arms completely, it is reasonable to assume that the trees may have been inherited from Zuiying Tang. Interestingly, these big trees survived from the war at the end of the Ming Dynasty. We can perceive that Qingyao Yu complex may not have been harmed either in the fire. Shijing Ge thus may be located on the second floor of Shengyun Shu since it had gone with Shilun Tang in the fire. Also, Qingyao Yu may be well protected from the fire because of the fire wall system applied between it and Shilun Tang. From the names of Zhai and Fei, we can imagine these might be auxiliary buildings only for more private activities such as reading and pet cultivation at the north ends of the two axes, or at some corners of the property. The pond depicted in this paragraph, which is five *mu*, took half of the entire area of property. From the area, it can be considered very large, especially in the context of the population explosion during the early Qing period. This arrangement perfectly coincides with Zhenheng’s suggestion about the water management in *Zhangwu Zhi*: “to dig a pond of one *mu* to one *qing* (one hundred *mu*), the broader, the more fantastic.”<sup>59</sup> If we were to fit a five-*mu* water body into the present layout of Yipu, it is not difficult to find how much the water body has

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<sup>59</sup> Wen Zhenheng 文震亨, *Zhangwu Zhi* 長物誌, *juan* 3, “water and stones,” one, “broad pond”: “鑿池自畝以及頃，愈廣愈勝。”

shrunk. Calculating five *mu* from the ridge line of the current Yanguang Ge, and if Yaopu took the three *lu* width of the block between Wenya Long and the current Shijian Langwu as we reconstructed it, the south edge of the pond would have extended to the present southern boundary of the property.<sup>60</sup> There still would have been no space for Wulao Feng.

Following such a deduction, the old periphery of Yaopu may have had a more extended north-south dimension than today, which approached the present-day Ping'an Long 平安弄. Such a calculation also fits with the configuration of Yipu in the Kangxi period (1662-1722) shown in Wang Shigu's Yipu Tu, in which the part to the east of the garden is expressed ambiguously. In fact, the total area of Yipu as ten *mu* was recorded in Jiang's "Yipu Ji," and was probably calculated by Jiang at the time Yaopu was newly purchased. If Wen had never expanded the property and the pond used to be five *mu*, the pond of Yaopu would have taken half of area of the entire property. Wulao Feng, therefore, was probably located slightly south of the current location of the artificial mountain and was in the area which is currently occupied by several courtyard houses no more than three *jin*. At the time of Yaopu, Wulao Feng could have been an artificial mountain piled up with stones, but considering that in the Ming Dynasty the appreciation of single Taihu stones was very popular and the time Yaopu was inherited from Zuiying Tang was right at the beginning of such an aesthetic transformation into mountain appreciation, the name "Wulao Feng" could also have another interpretation, which is,

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<sup>60</sup> In the period of Yaopu, Yanguang Ge should be at the grand court in front of Shilun Tang. Yanguang Ge was half-overhung above the water.

five individual stones symbolizing five peaks on top of the artificial mountain piled up with stones.<sup>61</sup> If so, the five peaks would have looked like a remote mountain with a visually fragmented contour especially seen from across the five-*mu* pond, instead of the present awe-inspiring volume with a dark silhouette. The darkness of the mountain looking from Yanguang Ge was also the reason that the current Yipu once was criticized by Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨 -- because the mountain was arranged south of the pond, the northern part of the mountain is unpleasantly always in the shadow. However, with the understanding of its original layout, one can imagine the view gained in Shilun Tang in the Yaopu period may have been significantly different from the effect nowadays (fig. 1-8).

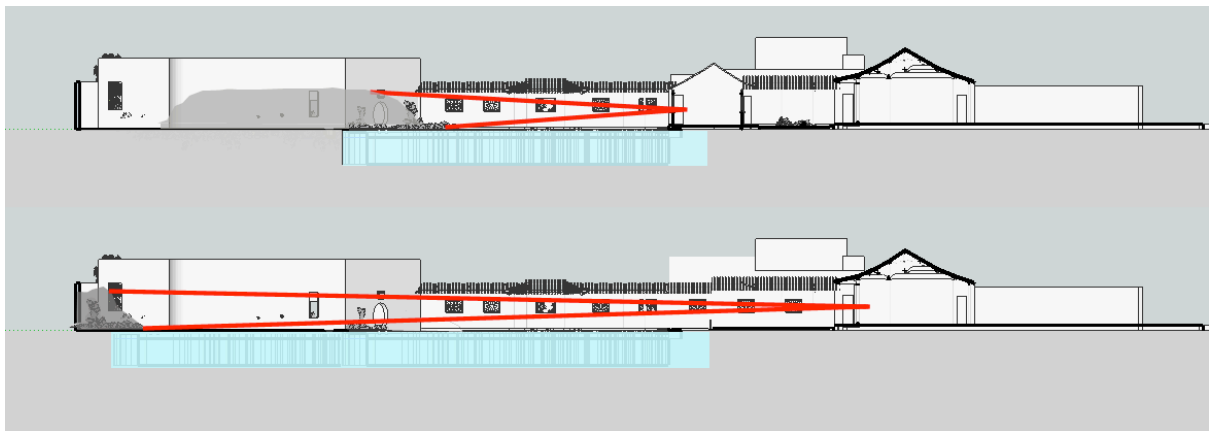


Fig. 1-8 Sections showing the relationships among the buildings, the pond and the mountain in nowadays Yipu (top) and reconstructed Yaopu (bottom).

The pavilion named Yubi located “in the middle of the pond” has survived from the late Ming fires, thanks to its location in the water which has isolated it from other timber

<sup>61</sup> Gu Kai 顧凱, “Chongxin Renshi Jiangnan Yuanlin: Zaoqi Chayi yu Wanming Zhuanzhe” 重新認識江南園林：早期差異與晚明轉折 [Relearning the Jiangnan garden: differences in the early period and the late Ming transformation]. *Jianzhu Xuebao* 建築學報 [Architectural journal], 2009 (S2).

structures. Jiang Cai kept this pavilion in his Yipu. Although the pavilion was claimed to be a Ming Dynasty structure by many modern scholars due to its application of large timber components and some typological similarities shared with other early Suzhou Ming Dynasty structures, and the entire property was even identified as “Ming Dynasty architecture” as inscribed on the national treasure list, no textual evidence has ever been found to justify its date in previous scholarships. However, from one of Cao Rong’s 曹溶 (1613-1685) poem, we find a piece of textual evidence to support such dating. In his poem, he writes “in the region of Three Wu, old literature is always scattered or lost. Finding what survives is hard. How lucky it is to find a pavilion surviving from Yaopu through house searching.”<sup>62</sup> This line tells that there indeed was a pavilion extant from the late Ming Yaopu that had been inherited by the Jiang family. It was particularly mentioned because it was one of the very few structures which survived from the former period through the fires of war. If we carefully observe the location of the pavilion in *Yipu Tu* and compare it with its current location, we can find why it was described as located in the water instead of adjacent to the water. In *Yipu Tu*, it was indeed located on an isolated islet in the water rather than on a protruding peninsula. The path toward the pavilion was held above the water by short columns, so was part of the base of the pavilion. The eastern side of the water body was also slightly east of the current bank line.

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<sup>62</sup> *Jingtang Shi* 靜惕堂詩集 [Poem collection of the Jingtang], *juan* forty-three, Yongzheng 雍正 edition :

“三吳文獻總飄零，  
卜宅能留葑園亭，  
相遇不殊真率意，  
城頭擊鼓醉初醒。  
學在所居爲文文肅公葑園，其先爲袁憲副醉穎堂。”

Therefore, it is safe to deduce that the eastern part of the water body also has shrunk after the Kangxi period.

Aside from Wen Han's description, most of the textual records of Yaopu are from the Jiang family members and their scholar friends. By the time Yaopu was purchased by Jiang Cai in 1660, it was 24 years after Wen Zhenmeng passed away. Jiang Cai himself, in "Shuliu Ting ji" 疎柳亭記 [Essay on the Pavilion of Sparse Willows], depicted the more detailed configuration of the remains of Yaopu before his renovation.

"On the east and west are several rafters of buildings which look like teeth, or battlements, or granaries, or bird wings, or boats stopping at an isolated islet covered all over by bushes. Through the fires of war, Shilu Tang and Shijing Ge were both gone, leaving only four or five old willow trees."<sup>63</sup> The name of the pavilion, Shuliu Ting, was not found in Wen Han's description of Yaopu. It was probably Jiang Cai's naming to describe the current condition of the site instead of the real name of the pavilion. Because the main buildings such as the Hall of Shilun and Shijing Ge have been burned down, the several rafters of buildings were probably only referring to the subsidiary buildings. The willow trees thus become a prominent feature surviving from the former period on the site, which carried a sense of sadness, especially when

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<sup>63</sup>Jiang Cai, "Shuliuting ji":

“東西數椽臨水，若齒，若都雉，若倉府，若鳥之翼，若叢草孤嶼之舟……兵燹之后，即世綸堂、石經閣皆蕩然，惟古柳四五株……”

Jiang Cai's record is slightly different from Wen Han's for his record of the building is *Ge*, probably a two-storied building, whereas in Wen Han's is a hall.

they were described as “sparse.”

Wang Wan (1624-1691) once wrote a biographical essay for Zhenmeng although he was only 12 years old when Zhenmeng passed away. This essay also has preserved some information of the old configuration of Yaopu. “I thus arrived at Zhenmeng’s study place, the so-called Qingyao Yu. Looking down to the clear pond and touching the slender willows, I had all sorts of emotions coming out and for a very long time. At that moment, there was a strong wind blowing through the forests. I cannot help but picture Mr. Zhenmeng in my mind, lifting his beard and condemning the rebellious chancellors.”<sup>64</sup> However, the Yaopu he was describing already belonged to the Jiang family at that time. Wang Wan was in the first group of friends in Suzhou that had been invited to visit the site. Adding that he has also composed two essays for Yipu, we can imagine his writing about Wen Zhenmeng and his Yaopu could also have been initiated by necessary research on the history of Yipu when he was writing the essays. From this biography he wrote for Wen, we understand that aside from the pond and the willow trees, there used to be an area of miscellaneous trees on the abandoned site.

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<sup>64</sup> Wang Wan, “Wen Wensugong Zhuan,” *Wang Yaofeng Jixuan*, Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1924, 72.  
“琬嘗訪公故居蓋已易主矣。因抵其讀書之所，所謂青瑤嶼者。俛清沼，攀修柳，慨然久之。適大風颯颯起林木間，輒想像公掀髯抵手，痛詬逆黨時也。”

**Jiang 姜 family's Yipu 頤圃 (1660-1671), Jingting Shanfang 敬亭山房 (1671-1673),  
and Yipu 藝圃 (1673-1696)**

*Construction Period of Yipu*

Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695), who was around the same age as Jiang Cai, has an essay on Nianzu Tang 念祖堂 [Hall of Remembering Ancestors].<sup>65</sup> In this essay, he noted that “after Mr. Wen Wensu, it was abandoned and turned into a stable. After that, it was renovated by Mr. [Jiang Cai].” From the same essay, we know that not only was he invited by Jiang Cai's second son Shijie to write the essay, he had also visited Wen's Yaopu twice before it was turned into the stable.<sup>66</sup>

Jiang Cai (1607-1673) was from Laiyang 萊陽, Shandong 山東. He was the older brother of Jiang Hai (1614-1653) and the father of Jiang Anjie 安節 and Jiang Shijie 實節 (1647-1709). In the fourth year of Chongzhen reign (1631), he became a *Jinshi* and was later elected as the Jishizhong 給事中 [Imperial Attendant] in the fifteenth year of Chongzhen reign (1642). Known as an outspoken person, he had earned a high reputation in the official system. But at the end of the Chongzhen reign, he was put in jail because of frequent offenses to the Emperor. In the sixteenth year of the Chongzhen reign, he was discharged from prison and was sent to guard Xuanzhou 宣州. On his way, he received news that the city of Xuanzhou fell into the Qing army's control. After that, he had to

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<sup>65</sup> Huang Zongxi, “Nianzutang Ji” [On the Hall of Memorizing Ancestors]: this hall used to be the place where Mr. Wen Wensu expressed his own emotions. After Wensu, the property was abandoned and became a stable. After the stable, it was renovated by Mr. [Jiang]. “斯堂也，為文文肅歌哭之所。文肅之後，廢為馬廄。馬廄之後，闢自先生” Jiang Cai has once named the property as Nainzu Tang.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. “余昔謁文肅，兩至其地。”

“stay abroad” in Suzhou, but he “never forgot his old master, the Emperor Chongzhen and his unfinished mission to guard Xuanzhou.”<sup>67</sup> He even called himself the “old soldier of Xuanzhou” and made his will to be buried under the Jingting Mountain 敬亭山 of Xuanzhou. His anthology was also titled as *Jingting Ji* 敬亭集 [Anthology of Jingting]. In Yipu, the main hall was accordingly named as Jingting Shanfang 敬亭山房 [Mountain Dwelling of Jingting] to manifest his loyalty to the former dynasty.

Jiang Cai himself also had an essay on Yipu in which he told the story of how he got this property. When he first came to Suzhou during the chaos of the dynastic war, he temporarily stayed in a place located in a narrow lane in the Shantang area. Initially, he did not expect to have the opportunity to visit Yuan Zugeng and Wen Zhenmeng’s old mansion but only secretly admired the two noble men. His friend Zhou Maolan 周茂蘭 helped him find this property in 1659 and probably has reconciled during the process of the deal. As Jiang Cai wrote, Maolan “suddenly came in with a title deed in his hand and told me where I am going to settle my home.” He signed that “anything under heaven that one does not pursue but achieves must have resonated with the *qi* of heaven and earth and thus his virtue and will become unified.”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Gui Zhuang, “Jingting Shanfang Ji” 敬亭山房記 [On the mountain dwelling of Jingting]. “先生與崇禎間，以給諫疏劾宜興相國得罪，謫戍宣州衛，宣州有敬亭山，先生遂自號敬亭山人，因以名為其居也。”

See also Wei Xi 魏禧 “Jingting Shanfang Ji” 敬亭山房記 [On the mountain dwelling of Jingting]: “敬亭者，宣城之山也。蓋先生以直言忤旨廷杖，詔免死，戍宣州衛，未幾國變，先生曰：‘吾不可以歸也。’轉徙浙東，久之僑吳門，得故相國文文肅公園居之，曰：‘我宣州一老卒，君恩免死之地，死不敢忘。’遂以敬亭榜其堂雲。”

<sup>68</sup> Shantang refers to the district along Shantang Road which starts from Chang Gate and leads northwest to Huqiu 虎丘. Paralleled with Shantang Road is Shantang Channel commissioned by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-



In 1672, Gui Zhuang was invited to write an essay on Jiang Cai's Yipu, which was twenty-three years after Jiang Cai and his family moved in.<sup>69</sup> In Gui Zhuang's description, Jiang Cai only revived the old configuration of Wen's Yaopu based on what had survived the war: "to describe the beauty of the pond, the platform, the flowers and the interior of the buildings, it was no more than the old configuration of Wen's house." The platform must be the court in front of Shilun Tang, which was adjacent to the pond; the pond was the one of five *mu* in area; the flowers and bamboos must be the plants scattered in the courtyards or on the mountain. We could assume the structure of the layout including the platform, the pond, and the mountain really had survived, because even if Shilun Tang had been burned down, the foundation of the building would have survived, and there would have been no reason to move the location of the building when rebuilding it if the major view remained the same and could be easily renovated.

Although the property had undergone severe damage through conflagration, and as much as Gui Zhuang and Jiang Cai himself had maintained that the renovation was only "roughly repairing what remained from Wen's old garden," modern scholar Xie

Zhengguang 謝正光 points out that Jiang Cai may have intentionally described the

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846) during his administration of Suzhou in the Tang Dynasty. Shantang Channel is part of the Jinghang 京杭 Great Channel. From the late Ming to the Qing Dynasty, this area became highly commercialized and populated. It took over the old Yue Bridge area and became the new commercial focus of the city.

See also Jiang Cai, "Yipu Ji", *Jingting Ji* 敬亭集 [Anthology of Jiting], *juan* six: "己亥之夏，鼙鼓不靖，余踉蹌適吳，僦山塘之委巷，初不求承風訪蹟，竊芳躅於兩先生之末席。吾友芸齋周子，忽一日操券而至，於我乎處處。余謂凡天下之無所求而為之者，必天地之氣之相感，以成其心志之合。"

<sup>69</sup> Gui Zhuang, "Jingting Shanfang Ji" 敬亭山房記 [On the mountain dwelling of Jingting]. *Guizhuang Ji* 歸莊集 [Anthology of Gui Zhuang], *juan* six.

property as in poor condition, so that Gui Zhuang, who was invited to compose “Jingting Shanfang Ji,” could help Jiang to maintain a self-image of a non-converted loyal official of the former Ming government.<sup>70</sup>

This opinion can also be supported by the two essays on Yipu written by Wang Wan, who was Jiang Cai’s second son Shijie’s friend. In these two essays, at least two additional projects of Yipu had been documented, which are further discussed below.

Xie Zhengguang lists the important family events of the Jiang family including funerals, marriages, and births of family members. He finds that from 1649 to 1672, the number of such events was more than twenty in total, which equals to nearly one for each year. He points out that expenses for family events are additional to the daily costs which would have been considerable. In addition to that, travel expenditures of the family were also found unneglectable. Within the twenty-eight years from 1644 to 1672 when Jiang Cai passed away, he traveled back and forth between Suzhou and Zhenzhou four times, between Suzhou and Laiyang twice, between Zhenzhou and Laiyang twice, and between

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<sup>70</sup> Xie Zhengguang 謝正光, “Qingchu Zhongjun Dianfan zhi Suzao yu Heliu: Shandong Laiyang Jiangshi Xingyi Kaolun” 清初忠君典範之塑造與合流——山東萊陽姜氏行誼考論 [The making of the loyal model to the former dynasty in early Qing and the confluence with the Qing officials: a biographical study of the Jiang family from Laiyang, Shandong]. In *Mingqing Wenxue yu Sixiang zhong zhi Zhuti Yishi yu Shehui* 明清文學與思想中之主體意識與社會 [The self-consciousness and the society in the Ming and Qing literature and thinking], edited by Zhong Caijun 鍾彩鈞 and Yang Jinlong 楊晉龍. Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Zhongguo Wenzhe Yanjiusuo, 2004.

See also Jiang Anjie 姜安節, and Jiang Shijie 姜實節. “Fujun Zhenyi Xiansheng Nianpu Xubian” 府君貞毅先生年譜續編 [Sequel chronicle of Mr. Zehnyi’s life], *Jingting Ji* 敬亭集 [Anthology of Jingting]: “五十四歲 (1660). 是年卜居蘇州鱖諸里。荒園數畝，舊屬文相國湛持別業。兵燹之餘，稍加修葺。署其廬曰東萊草堂，又曰敬亭山房。” And Jiang Cai, “Jiang Cai Nianpu” 姜垞年譜 [Chronicle of Jiang Cai’s life], *Jingting Ji* 敬亭集 [Anthology of Jingting].

Suzhou and Tiantai once. On his way back from Tiantai, he also passed by Huizhou, Taiping, Nanjing, Yangzhou and Zhenzhou. Such trips were either for avoiding war, for visiting family members, or for funeral duties. Expenses for transportation, lodging and eating should have also been considerable. Therefore, Xie concludes that such a lifestyle should have relied on constant sources of income which ruled out an official career because he called himself the “man from the former dynasty.” No members from Jiang Cai’s family ever entered the Qing court. However, the Jiang family was good at earning a livelihood through farmland and real estate trading. Jiang Hai 姜垓, Jiang Cai’s younger brother, once wrote in his letter to Jiang Cai that he “recently sold the land in Liangxi and purchased a house in Shanqu.”<sup>71</sup> In that letter, he invited Jiang Cai to come to visit him, and asked him not to have the burden to invest anything on his new house. One of Jiang Hai’s disciples also said in his teacher’s biography that “Mr. Jiang only left one-hundred *mu* of farmland.” But the reality was, one-hundred *mu* in Jiangnan area at that time was way more than enough to afford an upper-middle class lifestyle. Therefore, Xie concludes that although the Jiang family had experienced unimaginable misfortunes in the chaos of dynastic changes, the two generations of Jiang family, Jiang Cai, Jiang Hai and Jiang Cai’s two sons, had lived wealthy lives after moving to Suzhou.

Six essays on Yipu including Wei Xi’s 魏禧 “Jingting Shanfang Ji” (1673), Gui Zhuang’s “Jingting Shanfang Ji” (1672), and “Ba Jiang Jijian Bian’e Hou” (1671), Wang Wan’s “Jiangshi Yipu Ji” 姜氏藝圃記 [On Mr. Jiang’s Yipu] (after 1673), and “Yipu

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<sup>71</sup> Jiang Cai, “Ji Sandi Wen” 祭三弟文 [On commemorating my younger brother]: “近棄梁溪之田再買剡曲之宅，不煩兄手足之力而翩然來矣。” *Jingting Ji* 敬亭集 [Anthology of Jingting], 658-660.

Houji” 藝圃後記 [The second essay on Yipu] (after 1673), Huang Zongxi’s “Nianzu Tang ji” (1677), can all be identified as being done a decade after the property was purchased or even later.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, they were all done upon Shijie’s invitation. Among them, the latter three were done after Jiang Cai passed away. In addition to the essays, there was one painting called *Jiangshi Yipu Tu* (1673) by Wang Shigu and a calligraphic work “Chengshi Shanlin” that have been done around the same time. One may find it strange that it had been almost a decade since the family moved to this property until someone was invited to produce a calligraphic work and an essay for the plaque of the main hall in 1670, especially considering that the action of hanging a plaque onto the hall is normally taken upon the completion of the construction work of a new house. It is highly possible that right before Gui Zhuang wrote “Ba Jiang Jijian Bian’e Hou,” Yipu had recently undergone a thorough renovation in which several structures had been added. Wang Wan’s essay titled “Jiangshi Yipu Ji,” which was first inscribed on Wang Shigu’s *Yipu Tu* has detailed the configurations of the buildings in Yipu at that time. No matter what the real situation was, either as Jiang Cai described, that the property was in poor condition when his family moved in, or as Xie proved, that Jiang Cai was intentionally hiding the fact that his family was wealthy enough, in the following eleven years, the property had been renovated into a new Yipu, with the year of 1670 as a pausing point. Friends were invited to attend a house warming event in which producing calligraphic work was part of the tradition. After the guests had gone back home, they composed essays and returned them to the host upon their revisits. Gui Zhuang’s two essays and one

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<sup>72</sup> Gui Zhuang, “Ba Jiang Jijian Bian’e Hou” (1670), *Guizhuang Ji* 歸莊集 [Anthology of Gui Zhuang] *juan* four,

calligraphic work must have been done in such a context. Although there is no evidence showing that Jiang Cai's death in 1673 had any relation to the event of house renovation and essay composing (one in 1670 by Gui Zhuang, and two in 1672 by Wei Xi and Gui Zhuang), it is not impossible that the family was using the favorable event, the house renovation, to expel Jiang Cai's unfavorable sickness, which in Chinese tradition was a regular treatment of domestic environment, especially considering that the two essays done in 1672 were both in response to Shijie's request. Shijie, at that time who was in his twenty-seventh year, was just about to take over the obligation of managing all the family issues.

In an anonymous excerpt of scattered Ming and Qing literature, we find evidence showing that Shijie had searched the old tales and records about Zuiying Tang and Yaopu, and was able to access an old essay on a gathering event held in the old Zuiying Tang, as well as some miscellaneous poems on Yaopu. He then combined and inscribed them to be published under the title of *Donglai Caotang Gushi* 東萊草堂故實 [The old facts of Donglai Caotang].<sup>73</sup>

In Wang Wan's second essay on Yipu, titled "Jiangshi Yipu Houji," which was also in response to Shijie's invitation, we understand that after Jiang Cai passed away, his two

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<sup>73</sup> Author name lost, "Jiang Zhongzi Heke Zuiyingtang Yaopu Shiwen ji" 姜仲子(實節)合刻醉穎堂藥圃詩文記 [On Jiang's second son jointly reprinting poems and essays on Zuiying Tang and Yaopu]. Ren Jiyu 任繼愈. *Zhonghua Chuanshi Wenxuan* 中華傳世文選 [Selection of inherited literature of China], "Qingchao wenzheng" 清朝文征 [Qing Dynasty Collection], volume I. Jilin Renmin Chubanshe, 1998. 274. "先生之仲子，讀書懷古，搜羅舊聞，得憲副醉穎堂會記及文肅公藥圃雜詩，合刻之為東萊草堂故實，而屬余為之記。"

sons, Anjie and Shijie commissioned other two projects in the garden to commemorate their father. With their father passed away, how the family members used the property should have also been rearranged. The configuration of the garden was thereupon changed. Wang Wan was once again invited to write an essay on Yipu in response to these changes and to express the commemoration of Jiang Cai on behalf of the brothers.

Therefore, we can conclude that Yipu as the Jiang family's property had gone through two major sub-phases. The first sub-phase was the phase of Yipu, which was from 1660 to 1673, from when the house was purchased till Jiang Cai passed away. If it was indeed as Jiang Cai said that the property was only roughly renovated when the family moved in, in the following twelve years till 1670, when the plaque of *Chengshi Shanlin* was hanging onto the main hall of the property, certain renovations and construction projects must have been done to turn the property into the configuration as illustrated in Wang Shigu's painting and as described in Wang Wan's "Yipu Ji." The second subphase was the phase of Yipu, which was from 1673 when Jiang Cai passed away till the property was sold to a Merchant whose last name is Wu, during which an additional project had been commissioned by Jiang Cai's two sons to commemorate their father.

*The Urban Environment of Yipu 頤圃 (1660-1671), Jingting Shanfang 敬亭山房 (1671-1673), and Yipu 藝圃 (1673-1696)*

By comparing the map of Suzhou dated to the late Ming Dynasty (1639), and the one dated to the Qianlong reign (1745), one can notice that the block to the south of Yipu was

further divided into three blocks in the Qing Dynasty, suggesting a growth of population density. The fact that the waterway adjacent to the southern boundary of the Yipu was linked to Xiajia Lake as shown in the late Ming map indicates a new boom in this area, as well as the decline of the blocks on the two sides of the waterway at the northern boundary of Yipu. However, when some area became too densely occupied and reached the limit the present area of land can afford, reclaiming land from the waterway would become unavoidable. As indicated in the Qianlong map, a drastic change happened from the late Ming to the Qianlong reign. The northern channel of Xiajia Lake was completely clogged, which gave the waterway at Yipu's southern boundary a dead west end again, just like during the time of *Pingjiang Tu*. Also, the number of bridges indicating north-south lanes increased from two to five above this waterway. With three additional lanes going east-west on the southern block, it showed an increasing need of going to the northern area (where Chang Gate Market was) directly through the neighborhood where Yipu was located. The waterway on the north boundary of Yipu was completely reclaimed, making the old bridge at the north end of Wenya Lane unnecessary. However, early occupation by Yipu guaranteed that block a relatively full south-north dimension in the middle area, instead of being subdivided into small strip blocks as in the southern block (fig. 1-9).

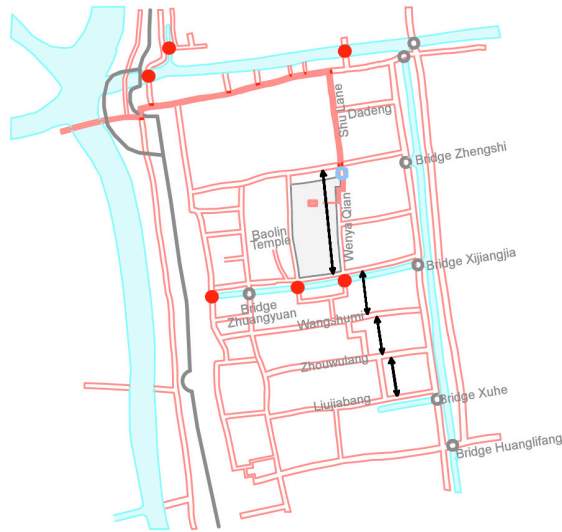


Fig. 1-9 Block subdivision shown on the map of Suzhou dated in 1745.

*The Buildings of Yipu 頤圃 (1660-1671), Jingting Shanfang 敬亭山房 (1671-1673), and Yipu 藝圃 (1673-1696)*

The surrounding environment of Jiang family's Yipu remains the most ambiguous among all the phases because from the two maps dated in 1639 and 1745 during which period the Yipu phase was situated, we can only tell a tendency of change instead of an exact illustration. However, a very realistic depiction of Yipu's configuration can be detected from *Yipu Tu* by Wang Shigu, which can to an extent compensate our knowledge of this phase. Together with two essays by Wang Wan in which buildings and scenic spots are meticulously depicted, we can reconstruct the layouts of Yipu of the two sub-phases under the Jiang family's ownership (fig. 1-10).





Fig. 1-10 Layout of Yipu (1673-1696) with the buildings with a second floor noted in red.

In both “Yipu ji” and “Yipu houji,” Wang Wan’s depiction developed through an imaginative path of him visiting the property. He entered from the east entrance as nowadays guests do, moved north, turned left and went over the three *lu* of buildings to the north of the pond, and further turned south through Xiangyue Lang 響月廊 [Walkway of Sound Moon] toward the south of the mountain, climbed up the mountain and moved down to the Ruyu Ting 乳魚亭 [Pavilion of Fish Feeding].

The east *lu* includes, from south to north, Yanguang Ge 延光閣 [Lifted Building of

Extending the Light] and Donglai Caotang 東萊草堂 [Hut of Donglai], with the former a two-story building and the latter the main hall where the host receives his guests; the middle *lu* includes from south to north Nianzu Tang, Sishidushule Lou 四時讀書樂樓 [Lifted Building of Joyfully Reading in All Seasons] and Xiangcao Ju 香草居 [House of Fragrant Grasses], in which the Tang is an ancestral hall with a broad court in the south for holding memorial ceremonies and significant events of the family, and the Lou and the Ju together are Shijie's study and living quarter. The west *lu* includes, from south to north, Jingting Shanfang, Gaiguo Xuan 改過軒 [Dwelling of Penitence] and Xiufo Ge 綉佛閣 [Lifted Buddha House of Embroidery], which are all places Shijie lives and studies. On one side of Gaiguo Xuan, Anjie and Shijie further built a two-story building called Jiancao Lou 諫草樓 [Lifted Building of Drafting Expostulation] which by the time "Yipu houji" was written was still under construction. Between the east and middle *lu*, there are Ailian Wo 愛蓮窩 [Nest of Adorning Lotus] and Yanggu Shutang 陽谷書堂 [Study Hall of Sunup], a private school where Anjie teaches. Between the west and middle *lu*, Liusong Xuan 六松軒 [Hall of Six Pine Trees] and Hong'e Guan 紅鵝館 [Guest House of Red Geese] are also where Shijie studies and lives. Beyond the west *lu* extended Xiangyue Lang which runs to the south of the pond. A bridge called Duxiang Qiao 渡香橋 [Bridge of Passing Fragrance] starts from the platform in front of Jingting Shanfang and zigzags twice. It leads to the south part of the garden where Nan Cun 南村 [Southern Village] and He Chai 鶴柴 [Firewood Fenced Crane Nest] are built. Between these two

complexes and the Duxiang Qiao is an artificial mountain piled up with soil, on top of which, on slightly east is the platform called Zhaoshuang Tai 朝爽台 [Platform of Cool Morning]. At the foot of the mountain near the water are a dozen stones, the one right on the opposite of Nianzu Tang is called Chuiyun Feng 垂雲峰 [Peak of Dropping Clouds], a pavilion watching Ailian Wo across the pond is called Ruyu Ting. At the southwest of the garden is Sishi Xuan 思嗜軒 [Room of Jujube Lust] commissioned by Anjie.<sup>74</sup>

As the most important building that bears a ceremonial function, Nianzu Tang is placed at the most notable place in the garden. Jingting Shanfang is positioned to the west of the main hall which is probably mimicking the relation between his present locale and his unreached working venue assigned by the Ming court. The meeting hall Donglai Caotang is hidden behind the two-story Yanguang Ge, away from the view of the lake, which indicates the origin of the family. Its relationship to the main hall is probably also mimicking that of Shandong and Suzhou. There are in total three two-story buildings in this garden. As the name indicates, the second story of Yanguang Ge receives the reflection of sunlight from the pond which “extended sunlight at dusk.” From the second story of the Sishidushule Lou, one can have the view of the pond and mountain by looking over the ridge of Nianzu Tang. As a reading place, it holds the vantage point of the entire garden from the northern part of the garden. Its

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<sup>74</sup> See Appendix IV Frequently Referred Ming and Qing Dynasty Essays on Yipu and Translations. Wang Wan, “Jiangshi Yipu ji” 姜氏藝圃記 [On Mr. Jiang’s Yipu] and “Yipu houji” 藝圃後記 [The Second Essay on Yipu].

interior must have been bright enough to provide an excellent reading space too. Jiancao Lou in the west *lu* was built particularly for storing Jiang Cai's book collections. It is not only a tradition to store books on a second story but also of a functional consideration -- the second story keeps books from the wet ground with proper air ventilation. Aside from the halls for formal affairs, most of the buildings including Xiangcao Ju, Sishidushule Lou, Liusong Xuan and Hong'e Guan are Shijie's private spaces. Considering Anjie is much older than Shijie, and that he moved back to Laiyang right after their father passed away, it is safe to say that Yipu became Shijie's own house soon after 1673.

By comparing the buildings of Yipu to that of the Yaopu period, several changes regarding the building arrangement and the garden design can be found. First, the big pond of five *mu* shrank into a pond of two *mu*.<sup>75</sup> Considering the west-east dimension of the pond did not change much in this phase, what has largely shrunk should have been the south-north dimension of the pond, more precisely, the southern boundary of the pond. Second, not only the number of the buildings increased, but the spaces of the buildings are also enlarged on the vertical dimension: there were three-story buildings in the garden in the phase of Yipu. These two transformations have both echoed with the increasing population of Suzhou during the early Qing period and the accordant shortage of housing land under that circumstances. Also, they are both reflections of the wealth of the Jiang family, even though none of their family members has become an official.

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<sup>75</sup> Wang Wan, "Yipu houji" 藝圃後記 [The second essay on Yipu]: "方池二畝許。"

**Post Jiang Phase: Merchant Wu Bin's 吳斌 Yipu (1696-?); Wu Chuanxiong 吳傳熊 and his son Wu Jingyun's 吳經筠 Yipu (1823- 1836); Qixiang Guild Office of Silk 七襄公所 (1839-1958); Suzhou Kunju Opera Group 蘇州昆劇團 (1958-1971); Vernacular Crafts Manufacturing Company 蘇州民間工藝廠 (1971-1982)**

*Construction Period of the Post-Jiang Phase*

*Wushi Jiacheng* 吳氏家乘 [Genealogy book of the Wu family] documented that Wu Bin 吳斌 (1663-1744) in the year 1696 gave his house to his brother, and moved into the house which used to be Wen Wensu's house called Qingyao Yu. This property was purchased from the Jiang family, yet they kept living there for thirty years.<sup>76</sup>

What happened to the residence during this period is worth noticing because it seems quite strange that Shijie sold the house and still managed to let his family keep living in this property for thirty years. Shijie must have sold the house twenty-three years after his father passed away, in 1696. Considering two projects (Jiancao Lou and Sishi Xuan) in commemorating his father had been commissioned after Jiang Cai passed away, it was unlikely that Shjie sold the house because of any economic difficulty.

The word “juechan 絕產” used by Wu Bin to describe this property, can have two interpretations. One is that there was no legal heir to the property; the other is that the lawful heir gave up his inheritance. In this case, the latter may fit better. After Jiang Cai passed away, his older son Anjie left Suzhou to Laiyang, the native place of the

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<sup>76</sup> Wu Bin's courtesy is name Zichen 紫臣; his pseudonym is Shen'an 慎庵. Ke Jicheng 柯繼承, *Suzhou Wangzu Mishi* 蘇州望族密事 [Secret affairs of great families in Suzhou], Suzhou Daxue Chubanshe, 2013, 186-187: “自丙子（1696）秋讓宅與弟，移家文文肅舊居，志所名青瑤嶼者，售得萊陽絕產，仍聽安居三十載。”

family, to mourn for his father. On the other hand, Shijie stayed in Suzhou and in his late years built Erjiang Xiansheng Ci 二姜先生祠 [Memorial Hall of Mr. Jiang Cai and Jiang Hai] and Jiancao Lou 諫草樓 [Lifted Building of Drafting Expostulation] at Huqiu 虎丘 [Tiger Mount] northwest of the city of Suzhou and lived in reclusion.<sup>77</sup> If two of the lawful heirs preferred not to live in the property any longer, there was a good reason to sell the house or at least part of it. Shijie possibly had sold the house, split the earning with his brother and used his part to find a new place somewhere in reclusion. To settle other family members, he may have rented part of the old house, possibly the part outside the west boundary of the current Yipu, or he has only sold the east part of Yipu to the Wu merchant and later sold the east part, which has caused the division of original land of the property.

As for the new owner of the property Wu Bin, although he was a merchant, he was said to be knowledgeable and excel at appreciating antiques. He wrote and compiled *Boyangtang Wenchao* 博雅堂文抄 [Collective literature of Boya Tang] and was entrusted to purchase utensils for the imperial palace in Suzhou for the Emperor Kang Xi's short stays in his villa during inspection tours. He was praised by the emperor for his excellence at this mission. However, his economic situation went downhill in his late years. Several years after he passed away, the property was purchased by Wu Chuanxiong 吳傳雄 (1777-1827), who was one of the members of his clan. Wu

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<sup>77</sup> Feng Jinbo 馮金伯 *Guochao Huazhi* 國朝畫識 [Notes on Paintings of the Present Dynasty], juan four: 姜實節，字學在，號鶴澗。萊陽人。前明禮科給事中塚子。塚……後寄居於吳，遂為吳人。學在工詩，善書畫，山水樞法雲林，涉筆超雋，為時所重。晚年建二姜先生祠於虎丘，又築諫草樓於祠後，為棲息所。足不入城市。人稱鶴澗先生。

Chuanxiong had attained the level of national scholar and was in favor of socializing with literati.<sup>78</sup> According to the stele record of Qixiang Guild Office of Silk dated in 1847, the Wu family renovated Yipu during the years 1823-1824, probably right after Wu Chuanxiong purchased it.<sup>79</sup> Wu Chuanxiong's property was later inherited by his son Wu Jingyun 吳經筠 (1800-1836) at the age of twenty-seven. He died young, at the age of thirty-six. From a painting named *Yipu Yaji Tu* 藝圃雅集圖 by Cheng Tinglu 程庭鷺 dated in 1835, we can tell that by then, the west part of Yipu had already shrunk by one *lu* in width, and the present-day western boundary of Yipu has already formed (fig. 1-11).<sup>80</sup> From Wang Shigu's *Yipu Tu* (around 1673) to Cheng Tinglu's *Yipu Yaji Tu* (1835), we cannot tell when exactly the west boundary receded, but the possible period should have been when Shijie sold the house and kept his family living in it for thirty years.

Three years after Wu Jingyun passed away, in 1839, the property was turned into the property for members of Qixiang Guild Office of Silk.

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<sup>78</sup> Ke Jicheng 柯繼承, *Suzhou Wangzu Mishi* 蘇州望族密事 [Secret affairs of great families in Suzhou], Suzhou Daxue Chubanshe, 2013, 186-187: “字介亭，國學生，業商，好與文士交往。”

<sup>79</sup> See Appendix IV Original Text of the Frequently Referred Ming and Qing Dynasty Essays on Yipu. 1847, Yang Wensun 楊文蓀. “Qixiang Gongsuo ji” 七襄公所記 [On Qixiang Guild Office of Silk].

<sup>80</sup> This painting with inscribed calligraphic works and poems was put on the auction market in 2013 by Tianjin Auction Company.

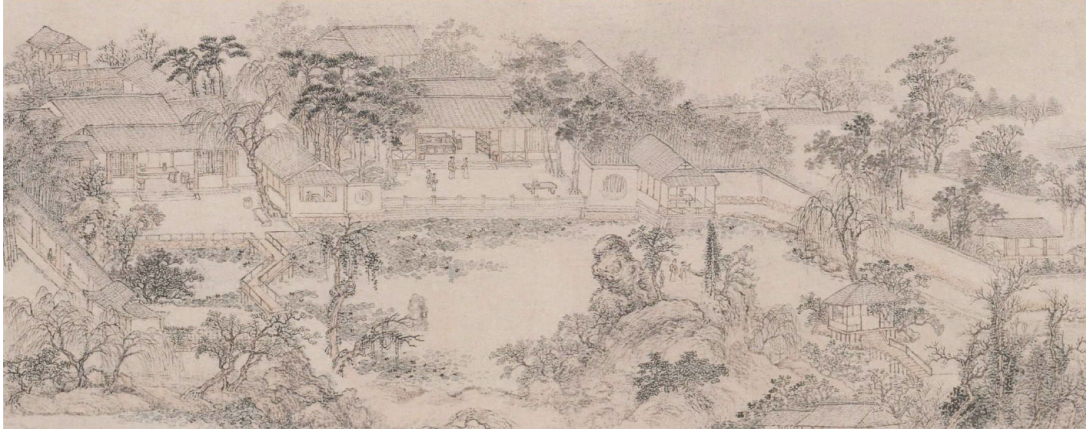


Fig. 1-11 Wang Shigu, *Jiangshi Yipu Tu* (part).

From the time Jiang Cai's two sons commissioned the two additional projects in Yipu till the year 1823 when merchant Wu Chuanxiong renovated Yipu, it had already been one hundred and fifty years. No record shows that during this period any buildings had been added.

The record of Qixiang Guild Office of Silk shows that after the decision of establishing Qixiang Guild Office of Silk in Yipu was made around 1839, the property had been thoroughly renovated. The pond was dredged; soil was added onto the mountain; the hall, the study, the guestroom, the pavilion, the platform, and the bridge(s) had all been revived into their original shapes; various kinds of plants were also added.<sup>81</sup>

In the tenth year of Xianfeng 咸豐 reign (1860), the Taiping rebels 太平軍 invaded

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<sup>81</sup> Yang Wensun 楊文蓀, "Qixiang Gongsuo ji" 七襄公所記 [On Qixiang Guild Office of Silk]: "疏池培山, 堂、軒、樓、館、亭、台, 略約之屬, 悉復舊觀, 補植卉木、嶺梅、沼蓮, 花實蕃茂。"



Suzhou from Chang Gate. Hundreds of people drowned themselves in the pond of Yipu. During Tongzhi 同治 reign (1861-1875), the property was revived as Qixiang Guild Office of Silk. Jingsi Ju 靜思居 [Dwelling of Tranquil Contemplation] was built in it. In the pond, white lotuses were planted during the same renovation.

At the beginning of the Republic of China in 1911, Qixiang Guild Office of Silk rented the buildings of the property to Suzhou citizens because of bad economic times. The periphery of Yipu had largely been reduced again. After ownership by the Qixiang Guild Office of Silk, the property was occupied by Japanese troops. In 1949, the property was turned into a school in which the main hall became a lecture room. From 1950 on, institutions such as Suzhou Kunju Opera Group, and Vernacular Crafts Manufacturing Company have successively occupied the property, during which period buildings of the garden were used as nurseries, factories, and warehouses, and the residential part of Yipu was then turned into Suzhou citizens' houses for multiple families. During the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Yipu was severely destroyed, during which course bomb shelters were made under the artificial mountain; the lake stones were burned to make lime; more than half of the pond was stuffed with garbage; two bays of the Yanguang Ge collapsed; and the pond lotuses died and disappeared forever in the garden.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Ke Jicheng 柯繼承, *Yipu* 藝圃, Gu Wuxuan Chubanshe, 1999, 8.

### *Urban Environment of Yipu in the Post-Jiang Phase*

In Mei Jing's research about the scale of the garden sites of Suzhou, she points out that after the prosperity from Kangxi to Qianlong reign, the Chinese population underwent a drastic upsurge from 150 million in 1700 to 313 million in 1794. She then quotes Wang Weiping's 王衛平 *Wu Wenhua yu Jiangnan Shehui Yanjiu* 吳文化與江南社會研究 [Study of the Wu culture and Jiangnan society] that contemporary Suzhou probably had around 700,000 of people. By the Jiaqing 嘉慶 reign, this number further went up to one million which was almost equivalent to the population of the Capital Beijing.

The post-Jiang phase of Yipu started almost around the same time as the population explosion of the Qing Dynasty. In *Yipu Tu* (around 1673), at the westmost part of Yipu is a covered walkway running north-south. Coincidentally, in the map of Suzhou dated of 1745, a lane called Shijian Langwu [Ten Modular Bays' Covered Walkway] appears at the same location. Since the lane has not appeared in the late Ming map dated in 1639, and its name is clearly related to the covered walkway in Yipu, which probably was reconstructed in the first sub-phase of the Jiang-phase before or around 1670, it is safe to deduce that this walkway by then was probably with its west façade filled with *huachuang* 花窗 in the wall, and its east side completely open to the pond. The lane called Shijian Langwu on its west should have appeared after 1670 and before 1745. The formation of this lane had to do with the need of the people living in the southern blocks to go to the Chang Gate Market.

The block to the north of Yipu remained unpopulated, as indicated by the absence of any small lanes in the map dated in 1745. However, the area at the feet of the inner side of the city wall became more populated during this period, as indicated by the newly appeared small lanes that divide the area to the west of Yipu into several tiny blocks.

### *The Old Configuration of Yipu in the Post-Jiang Phase*

The painting *Yipu Yaji Tu* dated in 1835 provides us an important visual source in reconstructing Yipu in this phase. In *Yipu Yaji Tu*, the present-day Yanguang Ge already appeared. The columns standing in the water to support the stretched out part of the building indicate the base of Yanguang Ge may not have changed till today, stretching out of the original bank line three meters in length. What was slightly different from the present situation is that not only Yanguang Ge, but also the building next to it on its east, which was also supported by columns standing in the water. In *Yipu Yaji Tu*, the east bank of the pond shrunk to the west wall of the original water pavilion which was half-stretched out above the water, making Ruyu Pavillion no longer float in the middle of the water but completely on the bank. The curve of the roof of Ruyu Pavilion was also changed. Rockery extended from the mountain to the east bank. On top of the mountain, Zhaoshuang Ting was already built up on Zhaoshuang Tai. Yanguang Ge has lattice windows installed on the south side, with the central bay open to the outside view. To the west of Yanguang Ge was a two-story building which we cannot see nowadays in Yipu. The location of Xiangyue

Lang at that time indicated a shrinkage of one *lu* area which accorded with the current east boundary of Yipu. It is not certain when exactly Yipu shrunk into today's size, but it is clear that before 1835, the buildings, the pond and the mountain very similar to the present configuration had already formed (fig. 1-12; fig. 1-13).



Fig. 1-12 Cheng Tinglu 程庭鹭, Gu Wenbin 顧文彬, and others. *Yipu Yaji Tu* 藝圃雅集圖 [The Painting of Artistic Gathering], 1835. Auctioned by Tianjin Wenwu Paimai Gongsi, spring auction, 2014.



Fig. 1-13 Reconstructed layout of Yipu in 1835, by the author.

## Modern Renovation during 1982-1984 and in 2000

### *The Repair of Yipu during 1982-1984*

Yipu was listed as a Municipal Preservation Site before the Cultural Revolution in 1963, but it was not until 1982 that the government finally decided to move the working unit, which by then was Vernacular Crafts Manufacturing Company, out of Yipu and repair the property. In an interview, Lu Hongren 陸宏仁, who supervised the 1982-1984 renovation of Yipu recalled that by then the garden part of Yipu was occupied by nearly 30 families of Suzhou citizens.<sup>83</sup> The reasons for the delay of repair could be multiple, but one important reason must have been the difficulties encountered during the negotiation and re-accommodation of these citizens. There is no record of what exactly happened to Yipu during the Cultural Revolution, but in 1982, Yipu was identified as “half-ruined.” The Suzhou Yuanlin Shejisuo 蘇州園林設計所 [the Design Office of Suzhou Gardens] was in charge of the design work of the renovation. Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin Jianzhu Gongsi 蘇州古典園林建築公司 [Construction Company of Suzhou Classical Gardens] took charge of the construction in 1982, and the project was finished in 1984. However, according to the renovation report by Lu Hongren, the part under renovation was limited to the garden.<sup>84</sup> This repair cost 500 thousand yuan which in the 1980s is still a considerable expenditure for a single project, especially considering that by then the renovation project of the much larger Humble Administrative Garden only cost 100 thousand yuan. The reason Yipu was paid so much attention could probably be

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<sup>83</sup> <http://city.finance.sina.com.cn/city/2009-10-23/116819.html> last access on Aug 2, 2017.

<sup>84</sup> Lu Hongren 陸宏仁, “Suzhou mingdai yuanlin Yipu xiufu gongcheng jieshao,” 蘇州明代園林:“藝圃”修復工程介紹 [Renovation report of the Ming Garden Yipu in Suzhou], *Gujian Yuanlin Jishu* 古建園林技術 [Techniques of traditional architecture and garden] 3 (1988): 27-35.

that it is one of the very few Suzhou gardens that owns the extant Ming Dynasty timber structures. Although the Humble Administrative Garden was also initiated during the Ming Dynasty, there is no remaining structure that could be identified as a pure Ming Dynasty survivor.

In 1995, the garden was listed as a Provincial Preservation Unit. In 1999, right before Yipu was inscribed on the Extended UNESCO World Heritage List of Classical Gardens of Suzhou in 2000, another renovation project of Yipu targeting its residential part was commissioned in November. Shilun Tang, Donglai Caotang, Botuoren Zhai 鮑飪飪齋 (originally the kitchen of Yipu) were renovated in this project; 56 pieces of furniture, 2 marble screens, 19 palace lanterns, 24 rosewood mirror frames, 25 calligraphic works, 4 lintel plaques, and a pair of column couplets were set in the halls after repair. After six months, on the first day of May in 2000, the residential part of Yipu was open to the public. This project cost two million yuan and added 1100 square meters to the area open to the public. By then, Yipu had taken on its role as an integral example of the Suzhou house, with the complete residential and garden parts.<sup>85</sup>

### *Urban Environment of Yipu in Modern Times*

Many residential districts within the old city of Suzhou have been renovated and

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<sup>85</sup> *Suzhou Nianjian* 蘇州年鑑 [Annals of Suzhou], Yuanlin Lühua yu Lüyou 園林綠化與旅遊, 2001, p. 305. *Nianjian* also records that although the residential part of Yipu at that time was occupied by multiple households of Suzhou citizens, the interior of the buildings was surprisingly well preserved as in late Qing style. Through interviewing one of the local staffs of Suzhou Heritage Ma Zhenwei 馬振暉, we know that choosing the styles of furniture and settings in the 1999-2000 project were based on the extant interior arrangement of other gardens, most of which are late Qing examples.

turned into areas suitable for accommodating modern life styles. Pingjiang Road 平江路 was one of the successful examples and now became a favorable zone for tourists. Old courtyard houses were turned into tea houses, restaurants, coffee shops, and workshops for original designs and crafts; small but elegant hotels are also opened in old houses after renovation. However, the district where Yipu is located remains untouched by modern life styles. Suzhou government has invited a few institutions to propose urban planning and protective projects in the past a few years, but in comparison to districts like Pingjiang Road that has been to a great extent commercialized, old buildings in this district have largely preserved their old residential traits.<sup>86</sup> Restrictive development codes, rather than investments, have been applied to the preservation and heritage renewal projects, giving this district a successfully quiet atmosphere, not only reminding us of the old Suzhou lives but also echoing the urban environment of Zuiying Tang. In comparison to other famous Suzhou gardens that have been inscribed as World Heritage, Yipu is relatively difficult to find because it is quietly hidden in the narrow lanes in an old residential area. Signs of how to reach Yipu are also not very noticeable around that area. Only when tourists arrive at the entrance will they realize that this is a World Heritage garden. Yanguang Ge in Yipu was turned into a tea house open to the public, but the guests who spend a whole morning chatting and enjoying the view of the garden are still mostly local citizens, most of whom live nearby and are frequent visitors to this

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<sup>86</sup> Suzhou Shi Wenwuju 蘇州市文物局, *Suzhou Shi Shiqu Wenwu Baohu Guanlisuo 蘇州市市區文物保護管理所, Suzhou Changmen Lishi Wenhua Jiequ Jianzhu Pinggu 蘇州閶門歷史文化街區建築評估* [Building Evaluation of Changmen Historical District of Suzhou], Zhongguo Lüyou Chubanshe, 2008.

small garden. If any of the gardens can convey the idea *chengshi shanlin* [mountains and forests in the urban area] today, Yipu would still be the best example. If a tourist spent only one day in Suzhou, he would probably skip a small garden like Yipu. One of the reasons is that this area to a great extent remains underdeveloped. The location of Yipu has escaped the problem of excessive crowds most of its life. Its surrounding environment fortunately has inherited its old trait and provided the best interpretation of *chengshi shanlin* in modern times.<sup>87</sup>

### *The Buildings of Present-Day Yipu*

By the time of the investigation during 1982, the garden had been occupied by Suzhou families; the wall of the garden was broken through in many places. To the north of the garden, there was a brick and concrete building with a flat roof. Within the garden, it was very challenging to identify the original configurations of the surviving buildings, mountains, stones, the pond and the trees. But there were several lacebark pines and locust trees which had survived. The original position of the artificial mountain and the water stones along the banks of the pond could still be identified. The mountain stones had been dragged to factories for lime production. Several *huangshi* stones 黃石 (lit. yellow stone. Mudstone rock) and lake stones were scattered at the corner of the earth hill. On top of the hill was a pavilion with the roof covered by sheet iron. Beneath the mountain, a bomb shelter was built in which the

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<sup>87</sup> Tongji Daxue Jianzhu Gongcheng Xi Jianzhu Yanjiushi 同濟大學建築工程系建築研究室. *Suzhou Jiuzhuzhai Cankao Tulu* 蘇州舊住宅參考圖錄 (unpublished), 1958.



pathway was stuffed with rubbish. Near the shelter, there were two lime pitches for constructional use. The pond was half stuffed with weeds and trash. Two bays of the water pavilion Yanguang Ge collapsed into the pond mud because some of the stone beams underneath were cracked. The opposite halls inside at the southwest of the garden and the Xiangyue Lang were gone. Ruyu Pavilion was identified as Ming remains but was already turned into a closed space by filling in between each two columns. The main hall Boya Tang was severely broken, and miscellaneous weeds grew in the courtyard between the main hall and the water pavilion. Broken pavement bricks scattered everywhere in that courtyard. There was no sign of the lake stone flower basin in that courtyard. The inner courtyard to the east of the water pavilion had broken walls and fallen columns. The sound of the falling tiles and bricks could be heard everywhere in that garden.

The Boya Tang has been identified as a partially late Ming and early Qing structure, but the renovation report did not provide an exact date of the water pavilion. The Ruyu Pavilion, on the other hand, was identified as a Ming structure through observing the timber structure.

The present-day Yipu still uses several names of the old property, some applied to different buildings (fig. 1-14). Nianzu Tang was renamed as Boya Tang; the name Yanguang Ge was used on the water pavilion built at the grand yard in front of the original Nianzu Tang; the original Yanguang Ge was renamed as Shilun Tang and was changed into a single-story building. Sishi Xuan was rebuilt to the south of

Shilun Tang near the pond; Zhaoshuang Ting was added on Zhaoshuang Tai;  
 Xiangyue Lang was connected to Nan Zhai 南齋 [South Dwelling] and Xiangcao Ju.  
 Xiangcao Ju was originally located in the north part of the west *lu*. The small yard  
 called Yu'ou 浴鷗 [Bathing Sea-Gulls] was at the lower place in the middle of the  
 mountain which was originally for crossing through the mountain from the south end  
 of Duxiang Bridge.

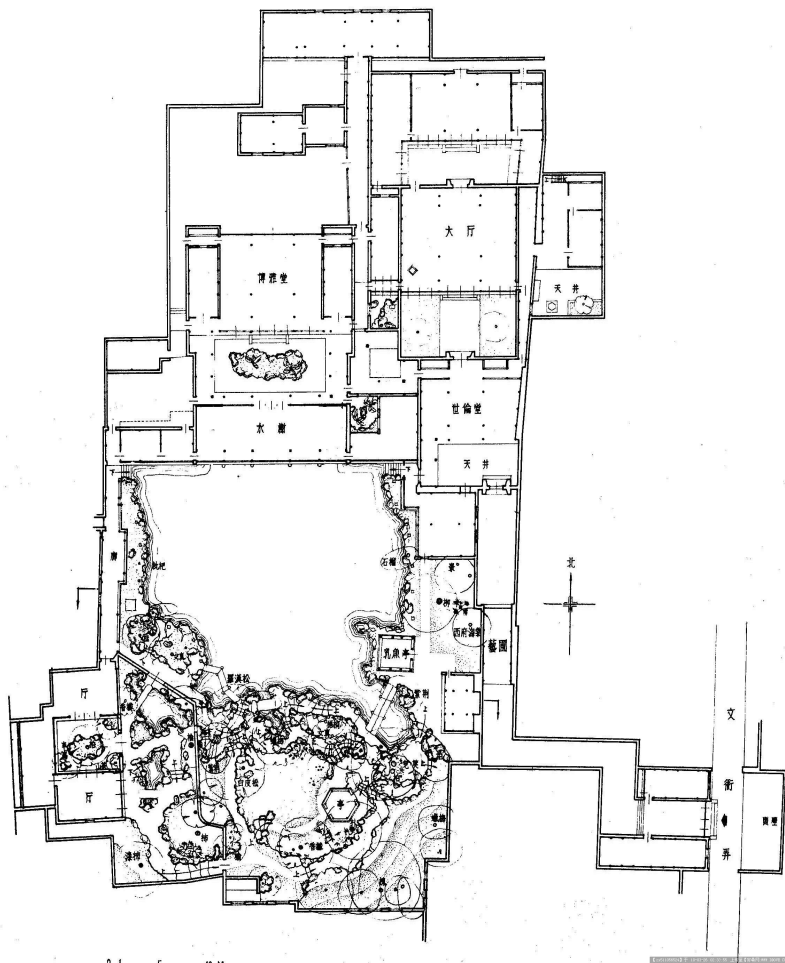


Fig. 1-14 The layout of the present-day Yipu. Liu Dunzhen. *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin*, 1979, 437.

## Conclusion

Although Yipu was inscribed on the list of the National Preservation Unit in 2006 as “Ming Dynasty traditional architecture,” its current configuration can hardly be considered a one-time design that could be all dated back to the Ming Dynasty. The periphery of the current property can be dated back to a few years after Jiang Shijie sold the property, which was perhaps in 1696 at the end of the third phase of Yipu. Before that, an area of one *lu* width, with the lane Shijian Langwu being its west boundary, used to belong to the periphery Yipu. If this is true, one can hardly say that the general arrangement of the mountain, the water body, and the main buildings which are the most important feature of a garden reflects a Ming Dynasty design. The very few Ming Dynasty remains in Yipu are Ruyu Pavilion, several stone stripes of the base of Boya Tang, and part of the timber structure of Boya Tang. Even in the Qianlong reign, there was still no sign of Yanguang Ge having been built. It should have been constructed sometime between 1673 to 1835. The two-*lu*-width buildings with a front platform facing a large pond and the one-*lu* width water pavilion facing a small pond have great differences. Yanguang Ge and Yu’ou courtyard, which are the two parts of Yipu that have been passionately celebrated by modern architects, are in reality designs and constructions of the later phases of the history of Yipu. The endeavor of pushing the date of the garden back to the Ming Dynasty and the renovation of the residential part of Yipu in 1999 was related to a critical agenda -- the application of Yipu to be inscribed onto the List of World Heritage Site.

## CHAPTER 2

# THE PERCEPTION OF YIPU: A HOUSE AS A MORAL LINEAGE, A SOCIAL VENUE, A MASTERPIECE OF “MING DYNASTY” DESIGN, AND A MODEL FOR MODERNIST DESIGN

### **The Perception of the Jiang Family and the Pre-Jiang Yipu: A House for Moral Lineage Inheritance**

#### *Yuan's Zuiying Tang to the Contemporary People and the Afterworld*

Contemporary records of Zuiying Tang by Yuan Zugeng's peer literati are rare. Most records that I have depended on to reconstruct the configuration of Zuiying Tang were from the phase of the Jiang Family's Yipu, without which no visual results could be provided. But if one attempts to find out how Yipu has been understood by people from different phases, the contemporary and later materials must be clearly differentiated.

From “Ming zhejiang anchasi fushi yuangong muzhiming” 明代浙江按察司副使袁公墓誌銘 [Epigraph of Mr. Yuan, the Assistant Provincial Inspector-General of the Ming Dynasty Zhengjiang Province] written by Xu Xuemo 徐學謨, we know that Xu and Yuan were bosom friends, and it was only a trivial event in the beginning that has caused Yuan to abandon his career as an official.<sup>88</sup> Retreating in his 40s because of political struggles

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<sup>88</sup> During the war of Wenzhou Prefecture 溫州 against Japanese pirates, he approved his chief of staff Wang De 王德, who was born locally, to spy on the enemy. Before he sent Wang away, he specifically cautioned him to come back as early as he could. However, when Wang came back from the mission, he was so worried about his 70-year-old mother who lived alone that he visited her against orders. Unfortunately, he was caught by the enemy and got killed. Because Wang has disobeyed the order, Yuan did not want to keep a high profile about this and has arranged Wang's funeral as an ordinary soldier. But local gentries thought Yuan was deliberately obliterating Wang's contribution, so they reported that Yuan

rather than being incompetent at his work, Yuan must have felt a deep frustration for which he could only seek solace in drinking. In the following thirty years, after he purchased the land in Suzhou and built his Zuiying Tang, he frequently gathered with his friends such as Yuan Yizhi 袁抑之, Chen Zhijian 陳之兼, and Feng Xinbo 馮信伯, drinking and writing poems together in the garden. Every day after greeting his parents, Yuan would set up a gambling party in the living room. If any guest visited, he would gamble and drink with him until drunk. Sometimes, he would bring food and firewood into the mountains and rivers, finish all his wine, and then return. Upon Yuan's life, Xu once commented that "those who cannot clearly see the world always consider being awake as drunk; those who are truly bright always consider being drunk as awake. Mr. Yuan escaped from himself through drinking."<sup>89</sup> The name of the property, Zuiying Tang, was related to this meaning. The character zui means "drunk," whereas the character ying means "sharp," and "bright." Zuiying was also interpreted as zuibi 醉筆 by some scholars which means composing literature when drunk.<sup>90</sup> Another understanding tends to interpret zui 醉 as cui 悴 [peak and pine], which matches with Yuan's frustration at not being able to fulfill his ability in the political career.<sup>91</sup>

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"hesitated and was weak in rescuing" to the central court. This report was then used by those who envied Yuan for the credits he earned during the wars and was turned into a serious issue through several rounds of interrogations of Yuan. Rushing to prove himself, Yuan made a terrible mistake- he bribed the man in charge and hoped he could have a good word for him to the court. But the man he bribed reported him, which directly led to his resignation. "Mingdai Zhejiang Anchasi Fushi Yuangong Muzhiming" 明代浙江按察司副使袁公墓誌銘 [Epigraph of Mr. Yuan, the Assistant Provincial Inspector-General of the Ming Dynasty Zhengjiang Province].

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, "然則世之夢夢者常以醒為醉，而皎皎者反以醉為醒，而公之自逃於酒也。"

<sup>90</sup> Ke Jicheng 柯繼承, "Yipu Miwen" 藝圃秘聞 [Secret anecdotes of Yipu], in *Suzhou Wangzu Mishi* 蘇州望族秘事 [Anecdotes of the great families of Suzhou], ed. Ke Jicheng (Suzhou: Suzhou Daxue Chubanshe, 2013), 158.

<sup>91</sup> Ke Jicheng, *Yipu* 藝圃 (Suzhou: Gu Wuxuan Chubanshe, 1999), 116-117.

According to modern scholars Liu Xinyi 劉信驛 and Ju Yueshi 居閼時, from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, the yinyi 隱逸 [reclusion] custom has experienced changes that can be roughly divided into three phases. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, literati chose to escape from reality and live in seclusion among mountains and forests; during the mid-Ming and late-Ming Dynasty, to “hide in the city” and to seclude in the garden of an urban dwelling became the mainstream of the reclusion living style; after Kangxi reign, the reclusion thought was gradually removed from the lifestyle of living in a garden, and the “yi” 逸 part of the compound of yinyi, which originally meant “to escape” and was extended to “lightheartedness,” thus starting to surpass the “yin” 隱 part, which means “to hide” or “to seclude (table. 2-1).”<sup>92</sup> Zui Yingtang was built during the mid and late-Ming Dynasty and rightly fit the above description of the second phase of the Ming-Qing yinyi culture. However, with the former analysis provided in Chapter I, I would emphasize again that when Zuiying Tang was first built, the condition of its site and the surrounding environment could hardly allow Zuiying Tang to be considered “a garden in the city,” but rather a suburban site that happened to be located within the city wall. Therefore, Zuiying Tang by then could be considered as an example showing the transition from the first phase to the second phase of reclusion living style (table. 2-1).

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<sup>92</sup> Liu Xinyi 劉信驛, Ju Yueshi 居閼時, “Mingqing Yinyi Wenhua de Zhuanbian yu Suzhou Yuanlin de Biaoxian: yi Yipu Weili,” 明清隱逸文化的轉變與蘇州園林的表現——以藝圃為例 [Changes on the reclusion culture of the Ming and Qing Dynasties and its expressions in Suzhou private gardens: illustrating through the example of Yipu], *Zhongguo Fengjing Yuanlin Xuehui 2016 Nian Huiyi Lunwenji* 中國風景園林學會 2016 年會議論文集 [Article collections of the 2016 Conference of the Chinese Society of Landscape Architecture] (Sep 2016), 437-441.

to live in the mountains and forests	to live in a garden in the city	not to seclude but to enjoy lightheartedness
early Ming	mid and late-Ming	after Kangxi reign

Table. 2-1 Three phases of the Ming and Qing Dynasties yinyi culture

One should also notice that if the Tang Dynasty great literatus Bai Juyi's *dayin* 大隱 [great reclusion] is a model of service at the central court, and *xiaoyin* 小隱 [humble reclusion] is to withdraw from the central court and to live in the remote countryside, the kind of reclusion Yuan has chosen should be attributed to neither of them. His reclusion was not even *zhongyin* 中隱 [mediocre reclusion] which was celebrated by Bai as the golden mean of *yin* -- to have a sinecure, a position that grants both the financial security and the social connections with the like-minded gentlemen.<sup>93</sup> From the Tang Dynasty till the mid-Ming Dynasty, the ranking of *yin* has also significantly changed. The Ming scholar-gentlemen seem to have found themselves a more elegant balance between the public and the private, the busy and the tranquil, and in the urban area and the natural mountains and forests even if they have completely withdrawn from the official system. For Yuan Zugeng who gave up his official career, the only choice left for him was the Tang Dynasty "humble reclusion." But within this only choice, there existed a new ranking system of reclusion during the Ming and Qing Dynasties -- to live in the remote

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<sup>93</sup> Bai Juyi 白居易, "zhongyin" 中隱 [Mediocre Reclusion], in *Quan Tang Shi* 全唐詩 [Complete Tang Dynasty poems], ed. Dingqiu Peng 彭定求 et al. (1706), volume 445; (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1979), 4991. "大隱住朝市, 小隱入丘樊。丘樊太冷落, 朝市太喧器。不如作中隱, 隱在留司官。" Liusiguan here is referring to Taizi Binke Fensi 太子賓客分司. Taizi Binke was originally referring to the four advisors to the heir-apparent. Fensi was set in the Eastern Capital Luoyang. Because the heir-apparent lived in Chang'an, the position at the Taizi Binke Fensi is a sinecure.

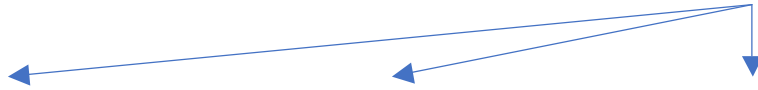
natural landscape as humble reclusion, to live in a normal urban house as great reclusion, and to live in an urban house with a garden as mediocre reclusion (table. 2-2). Yuan could have either gone to the remote natural landscape or chosen a small but convenient urban house in the center of the city, but eventually, he chose the new type of “mediocre reclusion”- to live on a large patch of land with natural features within the city wall. His choice was typical among the many Ming Dynasty scholars’ who enjoyed the conveniency of living in the city and at the same time the joyfulness of dwelling in *shanlin*. But for Yuan Zugeng at that moment, he inscribed the same phrase “Chengshi Shanlin” on the hall lintel. It did not refer metaphorically to a garden but was describing the real condition of his property, which was eventually turned into a garden in the later periods.

Yuan started his new life on such a land as if he was living in seclusion in the remote countryside, but the busy Chang Gate Market was right in the next neighborhood; his friends could frequently visit and drink with him without spending too much time on the way. There is no record of how Yuan made a living when he was living in Zuiying Tang, but it is possible that he had an austere life, the so-called *gengdu* 耕讀 [farming and study] -- to cultivate the land by himself, to raise animals and fishes, and to consume the products coming out of the land within the family. In other words, Yuan may have lived a rural life in the city.

Tang Dynasty		
to serve at the central court	to serve a sinecure	to withdraw from the



		central court and live in the remote countryside
<i>dayin</i>	<i>zhongyin</i>	<i>xiaoyin</i>



Ming and Qing Dynasties		
to live in the remote natural landscape (real nature)	to live in an urban house with a garden (man-made nature)	to live in a normal urban house (man-made)
<i>dayin</i>	<i>zhongyin</i>	<i>xiaoyin</i>

Table. 2-2 Diagrams showing the Tang Dynasty *dayin*, *zhongyin*, and *xiaoyin* (top), and the Ming and Qing Dynasties *dayin*, *zhongyin*, and *xiaoyin* (bottom)

It was from the phase of the Jiang Family's Yipu that the perception of Yipu started to gain more moral endorsement. In Jiang Cai's "Yípu Ji" [On Yípu] in which he told the story about how he accidentally got the chance of making the Yípu deal, he described the land Yuan Zugeng purchased as "an area full of dusky ruins where houses were rarely seen.... Only retailers and work-hands perfunctorily settle their straw hut around here...." and then he posed the question that "Why Yuan Zugeng chose it to be the place of his home?" In fact, this is a question Jiang Cai deliberately asked to provide his answer -- "Xianfu [Yuan Zugeng] gave up his career in his 40s, and fell obsessed with fostering birds and fishes. Here was the only place he stayed for the rest of his life. He named it *Chengshi Shanlin*. [That is because] Yuan not only did not force himself to be an official,

he also did not force himself to enter the mountains and forests.”<sup>94</sup> We can never know Yuan Zugeng’s real thoughts on this issue, but it is possible, as Jiang Cai said, that he was only seeking a humble place to dwell, and did not desire the life of living in the real mountains and forests. However, the reality was he had gained both the convenience of living in the city and the beauty and the tranquility of the “natural” landscape. It was the unique feature of the city of Suzhou that has made this irregular incident become true.<sup>95</sup> The identification Jiang Cai tried to imbue to Zuiying Tang to his peer scholar-gentlemen was with a strong aim of linking Yuan’s personality and his choice of the land together, and to prove that this choice was an attitude Yuan intended to express with a high sense of a scholar-gentleman’s self-awareness, rather than an unwanted result of his financial situation. In doing so, Jiang Cai can further parallel his own experiences in his former life to this morally celebrated figure. The same applies to Jiang’s description of Wen Zhenmeng’s Yaopu.

*Wen’s Yaopu to the Contemporary People and Afterworld*

If Yuan’s Zuiying Tang was attractive to many contemporary Wu scholars, it was because it had beautiful spots such as ponds, platforms, flowers and bamboo groves, Yaopu was famous first because it was the property of one of the great families -- the Wen family. Not only did its owner Wen Zhenmeng have a much higher position at the central court than Yuan Zugeng, but the garden itself also cannot be deemed as a single

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<sup>94</sup> Jiang Cai 姜埰, “Yipu Ji” 頤圃記 [On Yipu], *Jingting Ji* 敬亭集 [Anthology of Jingting], ed. Jiang Cai (late-Ming), volume six. “是非獨不求仕宦耶, 亦不求必入山林。”

<sup>95</sup> The location of the city wall was set at an early age and has never changed in the following periods. The population in the city fluctuated from time to time. When the city was not fully occupied, the areas within and near the city wall became quasi-suburban zones.

case but one among many gardens of the Wen family. The family has been well-known since the time of Wen Zhenmeng's great-great-grandfather Wen Lin 文林, who was the Chief Officer of Wenzhou Prefecture 溫州 and who owned the garden named Tingyun Guan 停雲館 [House of Resting Cloud]. Wen Zhenmeng's great-grandfather Wen Zhengming's 文徵明 official career had once achieved Hanlin Daizhao 翰林待詔 [The Secretary of the Imperial Academy], not to speak of the fact that he was one of the founders of the Wu School of painting and had also led the circles of literature and painting in the east of the Changjiang River for over thirty years. He had stayed in Tingyun Guan and had participated in the design of Zizhi Yuan 紫芝園 [Garden of Purple Grasses] and Zhuozheng Yuan 拙政園 [Humble Administrator's Garden]. His grandfather Wen Peng 文彭 had been titled Guozijian Boshi 國子監博士 [Professor of the Imperial School] and was famous for his calligraphy, painting, and seal cutting. His grand-uncle Wen Jia 文嘉 once stayed in Tingyun Guan and later built Yinri Tang 蔭日堂 [Hall of Sunlight Shading]. His uncle Wen Zhaozhi 文肇祉 had reached Shanlinyuan Lushi 上林苑錄事 [Notary of the Imperial Farm] and built Taying Garden 塔影園 [Garden of Tower Silhouette] at Huqiu 虎丘 [Tiger Mount]. His father Wen Yuanfa 文元發 was also known for calligraphy and has owned Hengshan Caotang 衡山草堂 [Thatched Cottage of the Heng Mountain], Lanxue Zhai 蘭雪齋 [Study of Snow Orchid], Yunyu Ge 雲馭閣 [Pavilion of Driving Clouds], and Tonghua Yuan 桐花院 [Residence of the Phoenix Tree Flowers]. Wen Zhenmeng's younger brother Zhenheng 文震亨 to whom he was deeply attached, also had a house with a garden. The garden was named

Xiangcao Cha 香草垞 [Small Mound with Fragrant Grasses] and was located near Yaopu.

It is reasonable to assume that these two gardens may have had some shared design schemes and aesthetics, especially considering Wen Zhenheng had written the book *Zhangwu Zhi* 長物誌 [Treatise on superfluous things] which is mostly about how to live in a garden. In that book, he frequently expressed strong opinions on how to choose things to be placed in the garden, what could be considered graceful and beautiful, and what should be regarded as ugly and kitschy.<sup>96</sup> Wen Zhenheng himself had also achieved the highest position, the Prime Minister, in his political career and was known to deeply abhor the eunuchs and to keep a clear boundary from them.<sup>97</sup>

In Wen Zhenmeng's hands, the property became so famous that the lane in front of the mansion was later named Wenya Long 文衙弄 [Lane of Wen's Mansion] and has not been changed even after the property became someone else's property afterward. It may already have become well known to Suzhou's citizens once Wen Zhenmeng purchased it in 1620 because of the reputation of the Wen family and their tradition of living in gardens, and this was before he gained the title of *Zhuangyuan* and became the Prime Minister in 1622. To Wen's contemporary Suzhou citizens, Yaopu should have been more than a normal garden where a random scholar lived. Rather, it was where the great

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<sup>96</sup> Wen Zhenheng 文震亨. *Zhangwu Zhi* 長物誌 [Treatise on the superfluous things] (late-Ming). Typical sentence includes volume 1, "Langan" 欄杆 [Balusters] "Avoid using flat panels carved in '卍.' Using the Taihu lake stones are also kitschy. Making a stone bridge should avoid using three rings panels or the qing-shaped zigzags. Placing a pavilion on top of the bridge should especially be avoided." "忌平板作朱卍字欄, 有以太湖石為之亦俗, 石橋忌三環板, 橋忌四方磬折, 尤忌橋上置亭子。"

<sup>97</sup> Wang Wan 汪琬, "Wen Wensu Gong zhuan" 文文肅公傳 [Biography of Mr. Wen Wensu], ed. Wang Wan, *Wang Yaofeng Jixuan* 汪堯峰集 [Selected collection of Wang Yaofeng] (Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1924), 72. "生平神惡內閣, 不與交通。"

scholar-gentleman Wen Zhengming's descendants lived and where the Wen family's intelligent legacy was to be inherited and continued.

The character yao 藥 in the name of Yaopu can also be pronounced as “yue,” which refers to a kind of fragrant plant named baizhi 白芷 [Angelica]. Yaopu thus may have been a garden that was planted with baizhi. This part of the meaning symbolized the lofty personality of the garden owner, and the character yao -- meaning to treat illnesses -- also expressed a desire to treat the spirit and the body tortured by the authorities and the dissatisfactions with the corrupted court.

As analyzed in Chapter I, by this phase of Yaopu, the boundary of the garden should have already been made clearer than in the phase of Zuiying Tang, probably with garden walls erected around it. For Suzhou citizens, the mansion of the retired Prime Minister and the descendant of the great scholar-gentleman Wen Zhengming, was not easy to enter, and their respect for this place can be told from the character ya 衙 [mansion] in the name of the lane running in front of the entrance. Although Yaopu should still be considered a big mansion at that time, especially considering its location near Chang Gate Market, it was not because it was the Prime Minister's mansion but rather an early occupation of the block thanks to the establishment of Zuiying Tang. According to “Wen Wensu Gong zhuan” 文文肅公傳 [Biography of Mr. Wen Wensu], “when he achieved high position and became wealthy, his house remained the same as when he was a student and has

never been expanded. Neither has he added more buildings to it.”<sup>98</sup> Moreover, in comparison to other houses with garden built in the city of Suzhou at that time such as Zhuozheng Yuan (185 *mu*), Bei Yuan 北園 [Northern Garden] (about or more than 100 *mu*), and Mi Yuan 泌園 [Mi Garden] (about or more than 100 *mu*) which had even earlier founding dates and were also located in the areas near the city wall, Yaopu (10 *mu*) should not be regarded as a large garden.<sup>99</sup> In comparison to Zuiying Tang, Yaopu already became a real walled urban house with a nicely designed artificial garden, rather than a retreat with the rustic charm that was loosely fenced at its edges any longer. Starting from this phase, the neighborhood had also experienced the process of urbanization, which required more solid fences such as brick walls to be built to demarcate the property from others’ houses. More citizens got a chance to pass by the property, but they may not have been able to see through the fences and have a glance at the scenery of the property any longer.

When the Jiang Family purchased Yaopu, the noble morality of Wen Zhenheng became the part that was specifically emphasized in the literature by Jiang’s peer scholar-gentlemen at that time. Jiang Cai in his “Yípu Ji” commented that “Yaopu was the only place where the Prime Minister lived and cultivated plants after his retirement. Because

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<sup>98</sup> Wang Wan 汪琬, “Wen Wensu Gong Zhuan,” 文文肅公傳 [Biography of Mr. Wen Wensu], *Wang Yaofeng Jixuan* 汪堯峰集 [Selected collection of Wang Yaofeng], ed. Wan Wang (Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1924), 72. “家居公廉自守，苞苴不敢及門通藉，凡十有五年。至於貴顯，其第宅猶乃諸生時所居從，未嘗拓地一弓，建屋一椽也。”

<sup>99</sup> More information about the contemporary gardens and their scales, see Mei Jing 梅靜, “Mingqing Suzhou yuanlin jizhi guimo bianhua jiqi yu chengshi bianqian zhi guanxi yanjiu” 明清蘇州園林基址規模變化及其與城市變遷之關係研究 [Study on the scale changes of the gardens in Suzhou in the Ming and Qing dynasties and its relationship to the Urban Changes] (Master Thesis, Qinghua University, 2009), 72, table. 4.2. Statistics of the Scales of Suzhou Gardens during the Mid and Late-Ming Dynasty.

not only he did not request to be an official, he also did not request to have the joy of the mountains and rivers.”<sup>100</sup> Here we see the same tone Jiang Cai used to describe Yuan Zugeng’s choice of the location of the property. Then he added that “the two gentlemen requested nothing and have made the garden,” which led to his explanation of why he named the garden with the character yi 頤 -- in the *Book of Changes*, it says “one must by the exercise of his own thoughts seek the proper alignment.” In fact, being retired from an official career was not decided by Wen Zhenmeng himself, neither can one say that he did not enjoy the landscape he made in the garden. The reality was that when the Jiang family purchased Yipu, the garden still bore fantastic landscape features inherited from the Yaopu- “It was attractive for its ponds, platforms, flowers, and bamboos groves.”<sup>101</sup>

After the first essay on Jiang’s Yipu had been made by Jiang Cai himself, most of the essays on this garden tended to describe Yaopu in a unified tone and to link the three gardens, Zuiying Tang, Yaopu and Yipu together by the three owners’ similar life experiences, personalities, and moral values. In “Ba Jiang Jijian bian’e hou,” Gui Zhuang sighed: “From the time of Yaopu, the Ming regime started to decline; now the dynasty has already changed.”<sup>102</sup> In “Wen Wensu Gong zhuan,” Wang Wan, who was one of the best friends of the Jiang family, described how he stood on the land of the old Yaopu after the property has already been purchased by the Jiang family, looking down to the

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<sup>100</sup> Jiang, “Yipu Ji,” volume six.

<sup>101</sup> Gui Zhuang 歸莊, “Ba Jiang Jijian bian’e hou” [Post script on the back of the Remonstrator Jiang’s hall plaque] in *Guizhuang Ji* 歸莊集 [Anthology of Gui Zhuang], ed. Gui Zhuang, volume four. “今先生之流寓於吳，雖陵谷變遷，而此地池台花竹，猶夫昔也。”

<sup>102</sup> Gui, “Ba Jiang Jijian bian’e hou,” volume four. “夫城市山林之為藥圃，此有明將衰之際也；藥圃之復為城市山林，則鼎遷而社屋久矣。”

clear pond, touching the slender willows, and imagining how Mr. Zhenmeng in old times was lifting his beard and condemning the rebellious party.”<sup>103</sup> In “Jiangshi Yipu ji,” he wrote: “Originally there was the Fushi 副使 [Assistant Superintendent] Yuan Shengzhi 袁繩之 who was known for his noble morality and deeds; and then came Mr. Wen Wensu and his son, who were upright and stouthearted; nowadays, Mr. Zhenyi, as the famous expostulator of the former dynasty, also spent his late years here. His two sons were both broad-minded and tasteful scholars who welcomed literati. They continued this tradition and had further expanded it.”<sup>104</sup> In “Nianzu Tang ji,” Huang Zongxi, who knew both Wen Zhenmeng and Jiang Cai and has visited Yaopu before, described in detail Jiang Cai’s early experiences. According to Huang, in the beginning, Jiang was set up by a villain and was exiled to guard Xuanzhou. But he never made it there and had to temporarily stay in Suzhou because the Qing regime took over the Ming Dynasty on his way to Xuanzhou. At the end of the essay, Huang described Jiang’s struggle, that he could not go back to Xuanzhou where he was supposed to be when he was alive, because that would make him a betrayer who serves the new government; neither could he disobey his emperor’s order and not to go to the place where he was sent. Therefore, following Jiang Cai’s will, when he passed away, his body was sent to Xuanzhou and buried. Huang considered that Jiang’s struggle had stemmed from the same loyalty Wen Zhenmeng had to the Ming court. According to him, “This loyalty and uprightness

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<sup>103</sup> Wang, “Wen Wensu gong zhuan,” 72. “琬嘗訪公故居蓋已易主矣。因抵其讀書之所，所謂青瑤嶼者。俛清沼，攀修柳，慨然久之。適大風颯颯起林木間，輒想像公掀髯抵手，痛詬逆黨時也。”

<sup>104</sup> Wang, “Jiangshi Yipu ji,” “其始則有袁副使繩之，以高其次則有文文肅公父子，以高蹈聞於前；剛方義烈著於後。今貞毅先生，復用先朝名諫官優游卒歲乎此，而其兩子則以讀書好士、風流爾雅者紹其緒而光大之。”



gathered in the same hall, namely, Nianzu Hall, originally Shilun Tang of Yaopu.” He further added, “The hall [Nianzu Tang] used to be where Mr. Wen Wensu expressed his emotions. After Wensu, the property was abandoned and was turned into a stable. After the stable, it was renovated by Mr. (Jiang). Mr. Wensu was set up by Wu Chengji; Mr. (Jiang) was set up by Yang Xian. The sorrow of witnessing the nation to decline and finally to be overthrown were shared by the two gentlemen. The rise and fall of the world were related to this one hall. I have visited Mr. Wensu twice, and walked by the pond and the bizarre stones to appreciate the garden. I never knew the sad story this garden bears.”<sup>105</sup>

*The Jiang Family's Yipu to the Contemporary People and the Afterworld*

Leading a non-native family to move to Suzhou in the chaos of dynastic change, Jiang Cai was unfamiliar to most of the Suzhou people and the Wu circle of scholar gentlemen in the beginning. It is safe to say that before he decided to move to Suzhou, his social network has never been there. But he had been appointed as the Zhixian 知縣 [County Magistrate] of Zhenzhou 真州, a county near Yangzhou 揚州 for ten years after he gained the title of *Jinshi* in 1631.<sup>106</sup> He has also purchased a house in Zhenzhou in 1649 when he was on his way back to Laiyang 萊陽 from the east of Zhejiang Province but was stopped by the war. Other than that, his social relationships were mostly

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<sup>105</sup> Huang, “Nianzu Tang ji,” “斯堂也，爲文文肅歌哭之所。文肅之後，廢爲馬廐。馬廐之後，闢自先生。文肅爲烏程所忌，先生爲陽羨所陷，亾國之戚，兩相與有力焉，天下之興亾，係於一堂。余昔謁文肅，兩至其地，曲池怪石，低回欣賞，不知其可悲如是也。”

<sup>106</sup> Jiang Shijie 姜時節 and Jiang Anjie 姜安節, “Jiang Zhenyi xiansheng nianpu xu” 姜貞毅先生年譜續 [Continuation of Mr. Jiang Zhenyi's biography], in *Jingting Ji* 敬亭集 [Anthology of jingting], ed. Jiang Cai (late-Ming).

concentrated in northern China, including his home town of Laiyang, Miyun 密雲, where he has been appointed as Zhixian, and the central court. Although Zhenzhou was a place neighboring the Jiangnan area, and some Zhenzhou friends of his may have had social networks with people in Suzhou, when he came to Suzhou, Jiang must have been considered an outsider to the local Wu circle, especially considering Suzhou was a place that bore deep literati tradition exemplified by the Wu School 吳門 of painting. At that time, Jiang Cai was not familiar with the city either. He once described this circumstance in “Yípu jì” that “in the summer of jìhài 己亥 when the sound of the battle drums had not yet ceased, I staggered to Suzhou and first found a place in a narrow lane near Shantang 山塘 to temporarily stay. In the beginning, I did not require to visit the old mansion of Yuan and Wen and to be able to purchase their old house, but only secretly admired the two gentlemen....” To some extent, the pressure on Jiang Cai to move into such a property should have been considerable. Unlike Wen Zhenmeng, who originated from the city and whose ancestor was one of the founders of the Wu School, and whose entire family had been assigned high positions in the court, the Jiang family could never compete with him either in reputation or cultural achievements that were specifically emphasized in the circle of scholar-gentlemen. He cannot even compare to Yuan Zugeng, who originated nearby and was the friend of many local scholar-gentlemen.

Under such circumstances, it was urgent for Jiang Cai to build a reputation in the Wu circle, and to justify settling down at the property that previously belonged to a high official and broadly respected local celebrity. Thus he particularly emphasized in “Yípu

Ji” that it was such a coincidence and luck that the house suddenly became available, and it was his friend Zhou Maolan 周茂蘭 who helped him find the house and bridged the deal. Therefore, his taking over of the property became a kind of destiny which was arranged by the “corresponding *qi* of heaven and earth.”<sup>107</sup> Later on, Jiang Cai and his two sons had successively invited many Jiangnan and visiting scholars to write essays upon the two major conservations of the house, one of which happened a year or two before Jiang Cai passed away, and the other initiated by his two sons after Jiang Cai’s death.

Wei Xi 魏禧, who wrote “Jiangting Shanfang ji” was one of the visiting scholars that once came to Yipu. He gave up taking the imperial examinations after the dynastic change. Born in Ningdu 寧都, Jiangxi 江西, he started to go abroad and visit the Jiangnan area from 1662, after keeping vigil beside his deceased parents for years. It was when he visited the Jiangnan area that Wei Xi came to Yipu upon Jiang Shijie’s invitation and wrote the essay “Jingting Shanfang ji” (1673). If there was any reason that he and the Jiang family became friends, it is the fact that he and Jiang Cai both held loyalty to the former dynasty and gave up on serving the new government after the dynastic change. The shared emotions of the old court immediately brought up a deep connection between them. In fact, Wei Xi’s visits to the famous scholars in the Jiangnan area and loyal officials to the former dynasty, dead or alive, could be considered in itself with a secret intention of fighting against the Qing Dynasty and seeking the chance for

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<sup>107</sup> Jiang, “Yipu Ji,” “凡余之無所求而為之者，豈命骨地脈，葉天地感召之氣？然附兩先生後塵，以自見其心志，則余之幸也夫？”

the comeback of the Ming Dynasty. In “Jingting Shanfang ji,” Wei Xi first described Jiang’s experiences during the chaos at the end of the Ming Dynasty, and then he wrote: “When I came to the Wu area, I first visited Mr. Jiang in admiration of his righteousness, but he was both placid and righteous, as if he had never been through those terrible things that happened to him. Therefore, I cannot help but sigh for some of the current officials. When they were given titles and high positions, they appreciated the emperor; when they were slightly demoted, immediately they turned to blame the emperor. If they were appointed positions away from the capital, they even dared not arrive and register.”<sup>108</sup>

Gui Zhuang 歸莊, who was also invited by Jiang Shijie, once wrote “Ba Jiang Jijian bian’e hou” (1671) and another “Jingting Shanfang ji” (1672). He was a scholar-gentleman from the former dynasty too. In 1645, he had raised an army in his hometown, Kunshan 昆山, a city between the present-day Shanghai and Suzhou, to fight against the Qing regime. But in the end the action failed and he went into exile. In 1672, he visited Suzhou and met Jiang Cai and Wei Xi. In his “Jingting Shanfang ji,” he first described Jiang’s early experiences and commented that “Mr. Xiong had similar experiences with Mr. Jiang. Whenever he mentioned the former dynasty, he could not help his resentment. But Mr. Jiang had absolutely no complaint to the emperor. After the dynasty fell, he still did not forget where he was sent, and even titled himself as the ‘old soldier of Xuanzhou.’ I have to say Mr. Jiang was so clement.... Mr. Jiang got to spend the rest of

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<sup>108</sup> Wei, “Jingting Shanfang ji,” “予至吳，慕其義，先謁先生，而先生油油然和且直，又若未嘗身之爲忠節然者。予因歎近世士大夫，登巍科，躋顯仕，則德其座主與主爵之吏，稍有降黜，則怨君父，至遷謫外地，乃悍然敢不至官。”

his years in a garden being an adherent of the former dynasty, [in comparison to my experience], isn't he so lucky? Mr. Jiang can be called loyal because he did not forget the former dynasty!"<sup>109</sup> In "Ba Jiang Jijian bian'e hou," Gui Zhuang once again expressed a kind of envy of Jiang's life in the garden after the dynastic change: "Hanging around in a garden of several *mu* without hearing the earthliness of the outside world, [he] barely visited worldlings. Why does he need to seclude himself in the Taoyuan and the Shangshan?"<sup>110</sup>

If Wei Xi and Gui Zhuang were two scholars who shared similar emotions about the former dynasty with Jiang Cai, and they had visited him with the same aim of finding spiritual allies, Wang Wan, who wrote "Jiangshi Yipu ji" (after 1673) and "Jiangshi Yipu houji" (after 1673) was a local literatus who frequently visited Yipu. He composed a large amount of literature upon his visits. In his own corpus *Yaofeng Wenchao* 堯峰文鈔, besides the above-mentioned two essays, we find many other works such as "Sishixuan bingxu" 思嗜軒並序 [Essay on Sishi Xuan with a preface], "Yipu shiyong" 藝圃十咏 [Ten poems on Yipu], "Yipu xiaoyouxian liushou" 藝圃小遊仙六首 [Six Poems on joyfully wandering in Yipu], "Yipu zhuzhige sishou" 藝圃竹枝歌四首 [Four zhuzhi songs on Yipu], "Jiangzi Xuezai suoju ji Wen Wensu gong Yaopu ye ganfu ershou" 姜子

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<sup>109</sup> Gui, "Jingting Shanfang ji," "而先生絕無怨懟君夫之心，國亡之後，猶不忘戍所，以敬亭為號，若曰：‘我宣州之老卒也。’先生可謂厚矣。……先生猶得以先朝遺老栖遲山房，以盡餘年，豈非幸歟！先生之不忘先朝，忠也。"

<sup>110</sup> Gui, "Ba Jiang Jijian bian'e hou," "而栖遲於數畝之園，塵事不聞，俗客罕至，可以娛老，何必桃源、商山哉？" Taoyuan 桃源 [The Peach Blossom Spring] and Shangshan 商山 [The Shang Mountain] are both well-known places to seclude in the Chinese history. Here they are quoted to imply living in real seclusion.

學在所居即文文肅公藥圃也感賦二首 [Two poems on Jiang's son Xuezai's house -- Wen Wensu's old Yaopu], "Zaiti Jiangshi Yipu" 再題姜氏藝圃 [Second essay on Mr. Jiang's Yipu], etc.

In "Jiangshi Yipu ji" (after 1673), Wang described how Yipu could be differentiated from other gardens in the Wu area because of its owner. "Many scholars came to visit the mansion. The garden soon became a place where the great scholar-gentlemen gathered and communicated. No wonder poets from everywhere would like to make poems and paintings for it. In twenty years, those who desired to visit it became even more. If it were not [that they adored the Jiang family so much], it would have been the same as the many gardens in the Wu area, which had undergone massive constructions and housed singers and dancers in the garden. Such gardens are favored by those who were only wealthy enough but vulgar in tastes and ordinary in deeds. One may visit such a garden once but [the songs and dances] will soon be blown away by the cold air; [the garden] will soon become overgrown with nettles. They are not worth mentioning at all!"<sup>111</sup> However, in many other works Wang Wan composed in and about Yipu, the owner's deeds and loyalty were not the parts that have been most stressed. The first half of "Jiangshi Yipu ji" described the scenic spots in the garden; "Jiangshi Yipu houji" provided a more detailed narrative of those spots, not to mention other poems that aimed to describe Yipu's beauty. His different perspective from Gui Zhuang and Wei Xi is understandable

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<sup>111</sup> Wang, "Jiangshi Yipu ji," "馬蹄車轍，日夜到門，高賢勝境，交相為重，何惑乎四方騷人墨士，樂於形諸詠歌，見之圖繪，訖二十餘年而顧益盛歟？不然，吳中園居相望，大抵塗飾土木，以貯歌舞，而誇財力之有餘，彼皆鹿鹿妄庸人之所尚耳，行且蕩為冷風、化為蔓草矣，何足道哉！何足道哉！"

considering Wang Wan himself had a completely different choice of whether to serve the Qing government or not. In fact, Wang Wan did not give up his official career and became a *Jinshi* in 1655, which was the twelfth year of Shunzhi reign. Then he entered the Qing court. The two essays were both made after Jiang Cai passed away. Rather than saying that Wang Wan was a friend of Jiang Cai, he was more of a friend Jiang Shijie made in Suzhou after he moved into Yipu with his father, although Wang Wan was twenty-four years older than him. One should remember that at that time, Shijie was only thirteen years old when he moved in. This age may have allowed him to become a real Suzhou person.

As a local scholar of Suzhou, Wang Wan's visits, poems, and essays not only introduced the Jiang family into the Wu literati's circle, the friendship of his family and the Jiang family also took a crucial part in justifying Jiang Cai to take the ownership of the old mansion of Wen Zhenmeng. Modern Scholar Li Huiyi 李惠儀 found an interesting story from Leng Shimei's 冷士帽 poem "Wen Taishi yi wei Jiang zhongzi fu" 文太史椅為姜仲子賦 [On Jiang's second son receiving the chair of Professor Wen]: a chair that used to belong to Wen Zhengming was kept by his disciple Peng Nian 彭年 after Zhengming passed away. Afterwards, it was returned to Wen Zhenmeng, and then transferred to Wang Wan's hands, and finally to Jiang Shijie's hands by Wang Wan's son.<sup>112</sup> The return

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<sup>112</sup> Leng Shimei 冷士帽, "Wen Taishi yi wei Jiang zhongzi fu" 文太史椅為姜仲子賦 [On Jiang's second son receiving the chair of Professor Wen], *Jingling Ge Shiji* 江冷閣文集 [Anthology of the Jiangling Tower], ed. Leng Shimei; *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 [Complete library in four sections], (Tainan: Zhuangyan Wenhua Shiye Gongsi, 1997) "Collections," book 236, volume 3, 19a-20b. "Hengshan passed away and left this chair to his disciple Longchi; after Longchi passed away, the chair was returned to Hengshan's

of a “superfluous thing” from the former dynasty to its original place symbolized the great trust and respect of the local Wang family to the newcomer Jiang family, whom they deemed as the best people to have this chair and carry on the spirit of Mr. Wen and his mansion. For their peer scholar-gentlemen, this chair was not only a superfluous thing in the garden or a household object of the former master of the property but also much more than that. As Li Huiyi commented, this chair was where the great scholar Wen Zhengming sat with other great scholars such as Shen Zhou 沈周, Zhu Yunming 祝允明, and Tang Yin 唐寅 who best represented the elegance of the Wu culture, and where he worried about and dealt with national affairs. Before the fall of the Ming Dynasty, the chair was a symbol of the continuity of the political concerns and artistic productions; after the fall, the path through which the chair has been transferred concealed the political disagreements between the adherents of the Ming Dynasty and those who entered the Qing court. Giving and receiving the chair among the Wen, Wang, and Jiang families suggested that different political standpoints could not shake the cultural and social networks. The chair witnessed the dynastic change and also indicated a cultural continuity.<sup>113</sup>

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grandson; during the chaos of the dynastic change, the chair was lost by the Wen family and was somehow obtained by Yaofeng; after Yaofeng passed away, his son gave it to Mr. Jiang Shijie as a present.”

“衡山既沒存此椅，付與隆池門下子。

隆池奄忽此椅存，復歸故物衡山孫。

.....

門閥一時漂沒盡，此椅流入堯峰家。

.....

一朝謝公作修文，堯峰之子持贈君。”

<sup>113</sup> Li Huiyi 李惠儀, “Shibian yu wanwu: luelun qingchu wenren shenmei fengshang” 世變與玩物: 略論清初文人審美風尚 [Radical change and connoisseurship: a discussion of early Qing aesthetic style],



Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 was another scholar who was invited to visit Yipu to compose essays. He was invited by a local named Zhou Maozao 周茂藻, the brother of Maolan 茂蘭 who helped Jiang Cai make the deal to purchase Yaopu.<sup>114</sup> Two years older than Jiang Cai, he had also visited Yaopu when the property still belonged to Wen Zhenmeng. With the experiences of giving up the official career after the fall of Ming and fighting against the Qing regime, his writing in “Nianzu Tang ji” (1677) predictably put enough ink on Jiang’s experiences of being mistreated by the former dynasty but still loyal to it.<sup>115</sup>

Many other scholars such as Wu Qi 吳綺 (1619-1694), Shi Runzhang 施閏章 (1619-1683), Chen Weisong 陳維崧 (1625-1682), Song Luo 宋犖 (1634-1713), and Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711) have also been invited to visit the garden and have produced a large amount of literature about Yipu. Among them, many re-entered the court in the Qing Dynasty, the others began their official careers after the Qing regime replaced Ming. If early literature about Yipu during the phase of the Jiang family were more about building up Jiang Cai’s self-image as a loyal courtier to the former dynasty through linking the experiences of Jiang to Yipu’s former owners, later literature about Yipu gradually transformed to the appreciation of the garden itself and the fantastic spots in the garden. The two expansion projects of Yipu were large parts of the reasons.

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*Zhongguo Wenzhe Yanjiu Jikan* 中國文哲研究集刊 [Journal of the Institute of Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica] no. 33 (September 2008): 1-40.

<sup>114</sup> Zhou Maolan and Zhou Maozao’s father is Zhou Shunchang 周順昌.

<sup>115</sup> Huang, “Nianzu Tang ji.”

Therefore, we may divide the perception of Yipu during the phase of the Jiang family into two sub-phases. The first group of essays dated when Jiang Cai was still the master of the garden was mainly made by visiting scholars who admired his deeds and morality, and shared his political standpoints. After Jiang Cai passed away, Yipu became a major gathering venue for many Jiangnan scholar-gentlemen, among whom were many of those who converted to the Qing court. Literature about Yipu in this period tended to emphasize the family's cultural tastes of writing, drinking, and garden making which were broadly appreciated within the literati circle. The family's identity as the adherents of the former dynasty had gradually faded. During the first phase, as a newcomer to the Wu region, Jiang Cai needed to establish a strong self-image as a loyal official to the former emperor, in order to link himself to the former owners and thus justify himself dwelling in the great Wen family's old mansion. Therefore, the garden by then was mostly appreciated because of its master, and the evaluation standards of the garden were mainly historical. Stories about the previous owners had been sophisticatedly selected and told in the essays; irrelevant incidents had been intentionally neglected.<sup>116</sup> In the second phase, Jiang Cai's descendants had already well fitted themselves into and were highly appreciated in the local literati circle. During this period, different political opinions did not obstruct regular socialization and communication among scholar-gentlemen. Evaluation standards of the garden became more architectural. The

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<sup>116</sup> The descendants of the Wen family after Wen Zhenmeng have without exception experienced tragedies during the chaos of the dynastic change. As much as the Jiang Family admired the Wen Family, and many descendants after Zhenmeng were also great scholars, no evidence shows that the Jiang family's respects to them had been turned into any real help to the Wen descendants who lived in the property right before Jiang moved in. Only Zhenmeng's story was selected and told in all the essays.

inheritance of the garden and even the household objects in the garden became a symbol of the continuity of the literati culture, rather than indicating the agreement in political standpoints. After all, years had passed since the dynastic change. After the property was purchased by the Wu merchants, the nature of Yipu as a *shengdi* 勝地 [fantastic spot] for the scholar-gentlemen's cultural gatherings and a private garden enjoyed by a small circle of scholars was about to change again.

### **The Wu Merchant's Yipu, Qixiang Guild Office of the Silk Industry, and its Identity as a Semi-Public Venue**

#### *The Wu Merchants' Phase: A Prelude to the Functional Change of Yipu*

From when the Jiang family's Yipu was purchased by the Wu merchants in 1696 until Yipu became Qixiang Guild Office of Silk in 1839, was one hundred and forty-three years during which the ownership of the property changed at least once, although still in a merchant's hands whose last name was Wu. No evidence shows before the 1923 renovation by Wu Chuanxiong that the property had been repaired or had largely shrank. As analyzed in Chapter I, we can only speculate that after Yipu was sold by Jiang Shijie, part of it had possibly been rented back by some members of the Jiang family to stay for over thirty years. After such a long-term occupation by another family, when this part of the property was returned to the Wu family, it is possible that the east portion had already formed an integrated design and it became no longer worth it to re-engage the western part into the garden. From the painting *Yipu Yaji Tu* made in 1835, we can tell that Yipu by then was only referring to the eastern part of

the original property. But a giant water pavilion, which is the present-day Yanguang Ge, was already added, which was possibly an adjustment of the garden design made by the Wu family to compensate for the lack of interior areas.

It is no surprise that the amount of literature about this property dropped off sharply because of the identity of its owner. As a merchant, although with the reputation of being knowledgeable, excelling at appreciating antiques, and fond of making friends with literati, Wu Bin was still not a scholar within the real Wu literati circle; neither were the next owner Wu Chuanxiong and his son Wu Jingyun. Although the shrinkage of the west part of Yipu may have been directly related to the Jiang family, it was in Wu Bin's hands that the original layout of the garden, which had been appreciated by many literati peers of the Jiang family, had largely changed. In other words, he was not able to maintain the garden so well. The addition of the giant water pavilion may have also been criticized as bluntly stamping a large volume only to increase interior areas without considering the original design, especially as it obstructed the view of the old Nianzu Tang, the most important hall of the house. On the other hand, such an operation would have been understandable if one relates the merchant identity of the owner to the changes. The water pavilion may have been used as a meeting or feast space for Wu Bin and his clients to discuss business; it also was the best spot to gain the view of the pond and the mountain. Unlike before, visitors of this garden in this period may not have had close relationships with the owner but only sought business opportunities. Therefore, there was also a need to differentiate the private spaces for the family and the semi-public spaces for receiving

those guests. From this phase on, Yipu's nature was gradually transformed from a private garden exclusively for the close friends of the owner to a semi-public place for the owner and others to do business.

*The Qixiang Guild Office of the Silk Industry: Gongsuo as the Registered Communal Property*

Qixiang was originally from a phrase in *Shijing* 詩經 [The book of songs] “跂彼織女，終日七襄” which means “The three stars are the Weaving Lady, passing in a day through seven stages [of the sky].”<sup>117</sup> The word qixiang (seven stages) was used in the name of the guild office to stand for the silk industry.

There are four stele inscriptions in total of which the contents are related to the Qixiang Guild Office of the Silk Industry. They are “Suzhoufu wei chouduanye sheju juanji tongye jishi li'an bei” 蘇州府為綢緞業設局捐濟同業給示立案碑 [Announcement by the Suzhou Prefectural Government about registering the guild office of silk in supporting the craft brothers] inscribed in 1843; “Wuxian wei Hu Shoukang deng sheju juanji chouduan tongye jishi li'an bei” 吳縣為胡壽康等設局捐濟綢緞同業給示立案碑 [Announcement by the Wu County Government about Hu Shoukang and others registering the guild office of silk in supporting the craft brothers] inscribed in 1844; “Qixiang Gongsuo ji” 七襄公所記 [On the Qixiang Guild Office of Silk] by Yang

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<sup>117</sup> Ling Longhua 凌龍華. “Gusu duyuan xu: Yipu, Liu Garden, Ou Garden, Tuisi Garden” 姑蘇讀園續: 藝圃、留園、藕園、退思園 [Continuation on reading Gusu gardens: Yipu, the Lingering Garden, the Couples' Garden, the Garden of Retreat and Reflections], *Jiangsu Difangzhi* 江蘇地方誌 [Gazetteers of the Jiangsu Prefecture] no. 04 (2016).

Wensun 楊文蓀 in 1847; “Minlie bei” 憫烈碑記 [Stele for commemorating the martyrs (who died in the Taiping Rebellion)] by Chu Chengji 褚成績 in 1875. Among these four stele inscriptions, the first two highly resemble each other from the content to the wording. From the inscriptions, we understand that the establishment of the Guild Office was first proposed by Hu Shoukang, who was one of the founders of the Guild Office and was by then also working as an officer in the Suzhou Fu Government. After the proposal was approved by the Fu Government, the details of the application process and the main function of the Guild Office were inscribed on the 1843 stele. In the following year, a similar content was inscribed on another stele to be announced at the county level. The 1847 essay by Yang Wensun elaborately introduced the process of fundraising for purchasing Yipu from the Wu merchants. The essay also indicated that Yang Wensun was one of the Wu merchants’ guests and had visited Yipu before it became the property of the Qixiang Guild Office of Silk. He was probably one of Wu’s business partners, considering that he wrote an essay upon the establishment of the guild office of the Suzhou silk industry. The property became available on the market because the Wu merchant decided to move elsewhere. Hu Shoukang and Zhang Rusong 張如松 each donated five hundred *liang* of gold. With the financial assistance of some other craft brothers in the silk industry of the Wu region, the property was purchased and renamed as Qixiang Gonsuo. In the beginning, the main purpose was to “provide a place for the peer businessmen in the industry to discuss business.” “If there are any new stores opening in the future, they should also donate a certain amount of money for the office to

dispose.”<sup>118</sup> “At that time, it was urgent to establish such an office because other industries all had accordant guild offices except for the silk industry, which the Wu area was known for. Without a guild office, the market price was difficult to unify and the product quality was difficult to grade. If any almsdeed was needed, without the office, it would also be difficult to carry out. It is so convenient that the garden is right in the commercial district with all the famous stores around. The office is responsible for fundraising for the community and the establishment of regulations. If in the industry there is anyone sick or too old to sustain a living, anyone widowed or who lives alone with no relatives, or anyone who suffers poverty far away from their hometowns and are not able to return, all the stores should report such cases to the guild office. The office will send someone to check the veracity and then fund accordingly. The membership fee for each store is five *li* per month. The office will collect it monthly and keep a record for later use.”<sup>119</sup> From Yang Wensun’s description, we know that the function of the guild office was not only to create a better commercial environment but also to help vulnerable groups within the industry. In addition to these two, another function of the guild office was noted in the 1843 stele inscription. “If there are any local mobsters who deliberately cause troubles or any young individual who is still able to earn a living by himself but

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<sup>118</sup> Yang Wensun 楊文蓀, “Qixiang Gongsuo ji” 七襄公所記 [On the Qixiang Guild Office of Silk] (1847) “余曾偕諸同人燕集於此，分韻賦詩，一時稱盛。嗣客遊江淮，不獲再至。迨己亥，吳氏將他徙，於是胡君壽康、張君如松擬創建會館，率先各墊五百金；吳中綢緞同業者，咸量力亦各墊多金，購營公所，名曰七襄，以為同業議事公局。俟後有新開店業，議定一體照捐襄其事，范君徵銓為之會計。”

<sup>119</sup> Yang, “Qixiang Gongsuo ji,”

“吳中百貨萃聚，四方懋遷有無者輻輳，莫不有會館。綢緞肆方甲於天下，獨會館闕然未備，市價之低昂無以定，物色之良楛無以別，至於同業或有善舉，亦無從會集議行。茲園介乎闡閩之區，名肆近在跬步，其藝特便。爰籌公費，立歸條，如同業中有老病廢疾不能謀生者，有鰥寡孤獨無所倚籍者，有異鄉遠客貧困不能歸裡者，由各肆報之公局，令司月者核實，於公費中量為資助。其費則各肆酌捐五厘，按月匯交公局，籍而記之，以待諸用。”

asks for donations, the office should also hold him accountable. All shops should follow the agreed regulations and not outspend what they have donated.”<sup>120</sup> This document shows that the guild office could also perform certain kinds of regulations among all the member stores.

The 1875 stele recorded a tragic story during the Taiping Rebellion. In the tenth year of the Xianfeng reign (1860), the rebel army attacked Suzhou. Citizens rushed out from the Chang Gate to escape, so the army entered the city from there. “Hundreds of common people, men and women hid in the guild office. To avoid being disgraced by the rebellion army, they committed suicide by drowning themselves in the pond. The Suzhou citizen Wu Dayong 吳大壩 witnessed this. After the city was regained, the businessmen in the silk industry revived their business and cleaned the pond in the guild office. The bodies were moved and buried elsewhere. By then there was not even a list of the names of the martyrs, which made people feel so sorry. Later, we proposed to the former Prime Minister Mr. Gao to construct a building on the bank of the pond, set up the tablets to worship in the spring and autumn, and establish the stele with this inscription.” From that incident on, the garden became not only the guild office of a particular industry, but a place that kept the memory of that incident for all Suzhou citizens.”<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> “Suzhou Fu wei chouduanye sheju juanji tongye jishi li’an bei” 蘇州府為綢緞業設局捐濟同業給示立案碑 [Announcement by the Suzhou Fu Government about registering the guild office of silk in supporting the craft brothers] (1843) “如有地匪人等，借端滋擾，以及年輕尚有可為，不應周恤之人，妄思資助，向局混索，許即指名稟候拿究。地保徇縱，察出並懲。各綢莊照議扣捐，亦毋以多交少，徇隱於咎。”

<sup>121</sup> Chu Chengji 褚成績, “Minlie beiji” 憫烈碑記 [Stele in commemorating the martyrs (who died in the Taiping Rebellion)] (1875) “公所迤近閶門東，咸豐十年，粵逆陷蘇城，居民避寇者，奪門出，而賊騎自此入。男婦數百人，懼為所辱，匿公所，駢死於池。邑人吳大壩目擊之。城既



The four stele inscriptions elaborately record the process of establishing, the general functions and an incident of the Qixiang Guild Office of Silk. However, to fully understand the perception of this property at that time, we also need to put it on the larger map of the guild offices and their development in the Jiangnan area. For a very long time, scholarly attention on Yipu in this phase was concentrated on the part within the wall. In the field of Chinese gardens, this property was considered one of the many guild offices flourished in the Jiangnan area at that time. But the historical geographical information of guild offices that can be gained through Yipu has never been discussed. However, the topic of *gongsuo* has been a hot topic among economic historians. The emergence and the development of guild offices have generally been considered the genesis of the modern economy in pre-modern China. Their research has also generated diverse ways of understanding two terms, *huiguan* 會館 and *gongsuo* 公所, which can both be translated as guild office. In Fan Jinmin's 範金民 article "Qingdai jiangnan huiguan gongsuo de gongneng xingzhi," he points out that *huiguan* emphasizes the same origins of its members whereas *gongsuo* is more like a space for people who work in the same industry. *Huiguan* were frequently set up in big cities where more business opportunities were provided but were usually far away from the merchants' hometown. In a *huiguan*, a member may easily find a person who shares the same ancestors or relatives. These

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復，繪商理舊業，清其池，徙骸骨而他瘞焉。而當日之死難於是者，無有臚列姓氏，上邀旌恤，時惻惻以為憾。久之，乃具狀前宰高君，請於池側築室，建總位，春秋致祭，兼撰文壽諸石。”

people usually come from the same village and share the same customs and beliefs.<sup>122</sup>

Huiguan provides a space for them to share the experiences and feelings of working abroad, worshiping their native deities from the hometown, and thus forming a small society in the host city. On the other hand, members of *gongsuo* are not limited to one single origin. To an extent, the geographical dimension *gongsuo* could reach is usually larger than *huiguan*. Most *huiguan* were established before the Taiping Rebellion.

*Gongsuo*, on the other hand, were mostly established after the Taiping Rebellion.<sup>123</sup> The different time periods *huiguan* and *gongsuo* flourished indicate the increasing economic prosperity of the Jiangnan region. In the beginning, the goal of selling native products out of the local counties to the big cities and benefiting from the regional differences of goods and prices had required members of *huiguan* to engage in the same industry. But after doing business abroad for generations, the bonds of blood and region had gradually been diluted and replaced by the urge of expanding the business into the inter-regional range (table. 2-3). Aside from the abovementioned functions, many *gongsuo* also invest in farmlands and use the income to help those who passed away abroad with funerals and coffin returning fees. Sometimes, *gongsuo* even help to establish schools for the members' children. *Gongsuo* not only tighten the internal connection of the members but also enhance the market competitiveness externally.

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<sup>122</sup> Fan Jinmin 范金民. "Qingdai jiangnan huiguan gongsuo de gongneng xingzhi" 清代江南會館公所的功能性質 [The function and nature of the Qing Dynasty huiguan and gongsuo in the Jiangnan area], *Qingshi Yanjiu* 清史研究 [Study of the Qing Dynasty history] no. 2 (1999): 45-53.

<sup>123</sup> Fan, "Qingdai jiangnan huiguan gongsuo de gongneng xingzhi."

<i>huiguan</i>	<i>gongsuo</i>
established before the Taiping Rebellion	established after the Taiping Rebellion
members come from the same origin	members come from the same industry

Table. 2-3 The basic differences between *huiguan* and *gongsuo*

Fan also pointed out that the power of *huiguan* and *gongsuo* matches with the scale and quality of the buildings. A powerful *huiguan* as an institution cannot exist without a proper place. Going back to Qixiang Gongsuo, to find out how many *huiguan* at that time could afford a garden like that still requires more research, but it is safe to say that Qixiang Gongsuo can be considered a very competitive one and was very rare at that time.

#### *From a Private Garden to an Institutional Office*

This section focuses on the transformation of the perception of Yipu from the Jiang family's phase to the Qixiang Guild Office of Silk. First, the over a hundred years' occupation by the Wu merchants symbolized a prelude to the profound functional change from a pure private garden for literati retirement to a meeting venue for merchants to discuss business. In the phase of Qixiang Guild Office of Silk, the functional change was finally completed. Second, along with the increasing commercial atmosphere of this space, the geographical periphery this small garden could reach had been largely expanded. In the previous phase, the perception of the garden was more recognized through the establishment of a moral lineage of the owners through time; during this phase, people from other regions of the Jiangnan area began to gather in this garden for industry. The owners of the property could be considered an entity formed by people

from this region and even the broader areas of the country. If the connections among people in the previous phase could be regarded as historical and vertical, in this phase, that became geographical and horizontal. Third, if the physical space within the garden wall was the entity that mattered in perceiving Yipu, in this phase, the institutional nature of *gongsuo* mattered more, and the garden became a place for members to occasionally gather and discuss issues of the silk industry. In other words, a different garden will not harm this institution to be established and function as the guild office. Fourth, the publicity of the garden also increased in this phase. Only a few people could enter the garden previously because it belonged to a private person. Any information common people knew about this garden was from the literature created by those who had visited there in person, which would also be delayed because such literature was usually published much later than it was created. In this phase, this place was already turned into a semi-public institution where more people can visit it in person especially after the Stele in Commemorating the Martyrs was established. Knowing the descriptions of the garden from the former literature, visitors in this phase can compare the experience of their own when visiting the garden and the descriptions about the old configuration of Yipu in literature (table. 2-4).<sup>124</sup>

Yuan, Wen, and Jiang's garden	Wu's garden and Qixiang Guild Office of Silk
private garden for the literati's retirement lives	a meeting venue for the merchants to discuss business

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<sup>124</sup> Phrases from the literature created in the former periods frequently appeared in “Qixiang Gongsuo ji,” which indicates that the author was clearly aware of the content of those texts.

connects people historically and vertically	connects people geographically and horizontally
the physical space mattered	the institution mattered
commoners can only know it from literature long after they are written	commoners can visit it in person

Table. 2-4 Changes from a private garden (1558-1696) to an institutional office (1696-1958)

## The Perception of Modern Yipu: A Controversial Masterpiece of “Ming Dynasty” Garden Design

### *Historical Perception: Yipu as an Authentic Ming Dynasty Garden*

A large amount of modern scholarship considers Yipu as a Ming Dynasty Garden. “This Ming Dynasty garden usually has very few visitors.... If you understand Yipu, you can feel that the character ‘Ming’ is everywhere: a clear Ming style and an upright Ming official’s house.”<sup>125</sup> “Although the owner of the garden has changed many times, the main style, which is the Ming style remained.”<sup>126</sup> “The sceneries in Yipu maintained to a large extent the Ming Dynasty organization and style, and are thus of certain historical and artistic value.”<sup>127</sup> Another article claims that the three-*jin* residential part of Yipu was dated around the end of the Ming Dynasty till the beginning of the Qing Dynasty and are

<sup>125</sup> Lu Qin 陸沁, “Chengshi shanlin” 城市山林 [Mountains and forests in the urban area], *Chengshi Zhuzhai* 城市住宅 [Urban houses] 09 (2000). “這座明代第宅平素少人光顧。” “讀藝圃,你會處處感受到一個‘明’字在晃:明朗的明式風格,清明的明臣情結。”

<sup>126</sup> Zhang Lei 張蕾, “Chidu shiyi, shifa ziran: Yipu zaoyuan yishu chutan” 尺度適宜, 師法自然——藝圃造園藝術初探 [Appropriate scale, learning from the nature: preliminary study of the art of Yipu], *Linye Diaocha Guihua* 林業調查規劃 [Research and planning in forestry] 02 (2017). “藝圃雖幾易其主,但主體風格卻沒有多大變化。更多地保留了明代園林的特徵。”

<sup>127</sup> Zhang, “Yipu Zaoyuan Yishu Chutan.” “藝圃園景古樸、自然,較多地保留了明代園林的佈局和風格,具有一定的歷史價值和藝術價值。”

the remains from the phase of Qixiang Guild Office of Silk.<sup>128</sup> However, from the analysis in Chapter I, we know that during the late Ming and early Qing, Yipu was still the property of Wen Zhenmeng's Yaopu and the Jiang family's Yipu. In these scholarships, the value of the garden was judged with the standard that "the earlier the date of the garden is, the more valuable the garden is." The present-day Yipu as an integrated entity, however, as analyzed in Chapter I, cannot be considered a Ming garden, either from its overall organization or the styles represented in most of its buildings.

A similar narrative given to Yipu is that "the style of Yipu is unvarnished. It has maintained the original configuration as it was first established."<sup>129</sup> Such a statement is also on the opposite side of the truth. Believing that "the more untouched the garden is, the more authentic it is," it ignores the styles of the majority buildings of Yipu and only picks Duxiang Bridge which is close to the water surface, thus reflecting a relatively early style and Ruyu Pavilion which shows a clear Ming style to evaluate the whole garden. Behind this value is the standard that "the more authentic a garden is, the more valuable the garden is," which comes from the standard of evaluating timber structures established by the first-generation architectural historians.

Some other articles tended to evaluate the garden from the perspective of design but failed to separate it from the above-mentioned historical standards and avoid the over-

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<sup>128</sup> "Yipu Zhuzhai Bufen Shishi Weixiu" 藝圃住宅部分實施維修 [The residential part of Yipu is under renovation], "現有三進住宅為明末、清初時期建築,大都是七裏公所時之遺跡。"

<sup>129</sup> He Xinbing 何新兵, and Kai Wang 王凱, "Yipu de lüyou ziyuan fenxi yu pingjia" 藝圃的旅遊資源分析與評價 [The analysis and evaluation of Yipu's tourism resources], *Anhui Jianzhu* 安徽建築 [Anhui architecture] 06 (2010). "藝圃風格質樸,較多地保存了建園初期的格局。"

generalization of the date of the garden. “The organization of the mountain and the water is plain and unforced; the building structures are clear and simple. The small courtyard Qinlu is a refined design, which leads one to the secret place of joy. Through such designs, it created a painting-like landscape which represents the mountains and waters in *pingyuan* 平遠 (the level distance). It shows the Ming literati’s freehand garden style known for the natural and unadorned expressions.”<sup>130</sup> Although the comments look like criticism of the design of Yipu, they are still mixed with the historical standards and mistakenly identified the style of Yipu as the Ming Dynasty garden style.

Another group of articles tended to establish a connection between the descriptions in *Zhangwu Zhi* and the current design of Yipu to prove the “Ming garden” identity of Yipu. “*Zhangwu Zhi* provided such descriptions for the design of a small pond: ‘to chisel a small pond next to the front steps (of a building), it must be surrounded by lake stones, and the water needs to be clear enough to see the bottom of the pond. Watching the red fishes swimming and the green algae swaying in it is the interesting part.... Plant some lotus flowers near the bank, cut bamboo to make the balusters and do not let it spread. The worst strategy is to fill the entire pond with lotus without letting the color of the water be viewed.’<sup>131</sup> The pond of Yipu is just like this. Although there are lotuses, they do not fill the pond but are only concentrated on the northern part of it. Viewing them

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<sup>130</sup> *Zhongguo Lüyou Nianjian* 中國旅遊年鑑 [China tourism yearbook of 2011] (Beijing: Zhongguo Lüyou Chubanshe, 2011), 536. “山水佈局撲野遠淡,建築構置簡練疏朗,尤以芹盧小院玲瓏窈窕,幽趣妙佳,由此構成具有平遠山水畫意的景觀,體現了明代文人寫意山水園以自然質樸取勝的風格。”

<sup>131</sup> The original text excerpted from the *Zhangwu Zhi* is “階前石畔,鑿一小池,必須湖石四圍,泉清可見底。中畜朱魚、翠藻、游泳可玩……於岸側植藕花,削竹為欄,勿令蔓衍。忌荷葉滿池,不見水色。” volume three “板橋須三折。” volume one

from Yanguang Ge, the green leaves and dancing lotuses are a symbiotic match of the atmosphere of the garden. Duxiang Bridge is at the southwest bay of the pond and stands opposite Ruyu Bridge. The two bridges completely match what *Zhangwu Zhi* prescribed - - “a board bridge needs to be threefold.”<sup>132</sup> However, the purpose of the author in comparing the pond and the bridges of Yipu to the descriptions in *Zhangwu Zhi* is still to prove that Yipu is an authentic Ming garden, for *Zhangwu Zhi* is a Ming book. But as analyzed in Chapter I, it is far from precise. The current pond is a result of the shrinkage from the Wu merchants phase, which is at earliest dated in the mid-Qing Dynasty; the lotus was newly planted by modern gardeners. Without uncovering the layout of Yipu phase by phase, the modern scholarship failed to provide a precise historical description of Yipu. In the next section, we will further reveal the source of the generalization that “Yipu is a Ming Dynasty garden.”

#### *Architectural Perception: Yipu as a Controversial Masterpiece of Garden Design*

A historiographical review allows us to find out that the most important criticisms of the design of Yipu were provided by architectural historians instead of architects in the beginning. Possibly because Yipu is a relatively small garden in its current condition and was considered less important than gardens such as Zhuozheng Garden and Liu Garden, only limited spaces were left for Yipu in many comprehensive works on Suzhou Garden. No detailed historical study of Yipu was provided; criticisms are mostly based on the

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<sup>132</sup> Bu Fuming 卜複鳴, “Jingpin dianji: Suzhou gudian yuanlin xilie, Yipu Yu’ou Yuan” 精品點擊——蘇州古典園林系列:藝圃“浴鵑院” [Clicking on the masterpieces: the classical garden of Suzhou, the Yu’ou Courtyard of Yipu], *Yuanlin* 園林 [Gardens] 09 (2007).



current design of Yipu instead of its original configurations in the previous phases. The criticisms are mostly concentrated on Yanguang Ge, the pond, the orientation of the mountain, and Yu'ou Courtyard. Controversial opinions were found on the same design strategies, although scholars only provided their own judgments in their books, and no back and forth arguments were raised.

In Liu Dunzhen's *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin* (1959) which was based on the collective work of students and teachers of Nanjing Gongxueyuan 南京工學院 [Nanjing Academy of Engineering] during the 1950s, Yipu is the eighth example to be introduced in eleven gardens. Only a layout and a transverse section cut at the pond and looking toward the mountain are provided (fig. 2-1; fig. 2-2). In another chapter on timber structures in gardens, Liu provided detailed drawings for the Ming remains, Ruyu Pavilion (fig. 2-3). Unlike the other two smaller gardens for which photos of the main halls were provided to compensate the lack of drawings, photos of Yipu are mostly concentrated on the artificial mountain, the bridge and the views around Yu'ou Courtyard (fig. 2-4). For Yanguang Ge which has an extraordinarily huge volume, no photos were provided. One may ask why the buildings of Yipu were so ignored in Liu's book. Liu Dunzhen, who usually writes in a calm tone, showed a rarely seen straightforwardness here: "The northern bank is too straight and it looks too rigid."<sup>133</sup> He also gave a negative comment on the orientation of the mountain and pointed out that the northern side of the mountain is all shadowed in

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<sup>133</sup> Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨, *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin* 蘇州古典園林 [Classical gardens of Suzhou], Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 2005.

dark, and cannot be clearly viewed from Yanguang Ge, because it was positioned to the south of the building complex, which is an unusual location in Suzhou gardens.

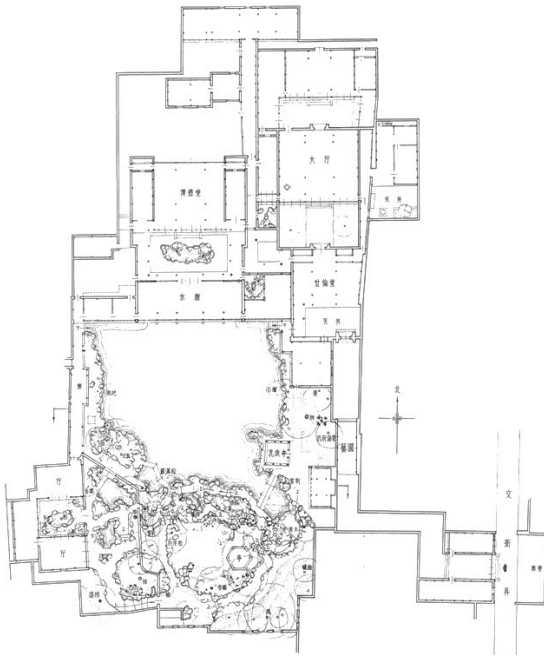


Fig. 2-1 The layout of Yipu provided in *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin*.



Fig. 2-2 The transverse section cut at the pond and looking toward the mountain provided in *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin*.

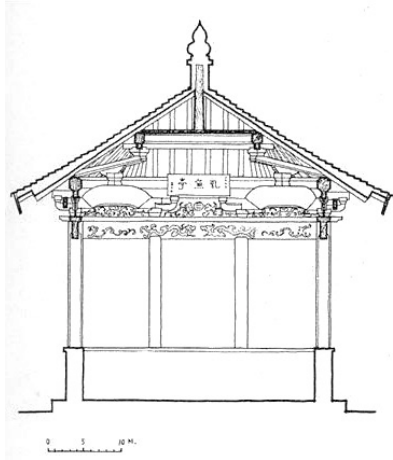


Fig. 2-3 The section of the Ruyu Pavilion provided in *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin*.



Fig. 2-4 The moon gate leading to Yu'ou Courtyard.

In 1983, three days before Tong Jun passed away, he was still proofreading his book *Glimpses of Gardens in Southeast China*.<sup>134</sup> Unlike his former work *Jiangnan Yuanlin*

<sup>134</sup> Tong Jun 童嵩, *Dongnan Yuanshu* 東南園墅 [Glimpse of gardens in southeast China] (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1997). This book was originally written in English. The Chinese

*Zhi* 江南園林志 in which Yipu was only commented on in a single sentence with a sketched layout in the appendix, in this book, Tong Jun agreed with Liu's opinion on the orientation of the mountain (fig. 2-5). He did not comment on the design of Yanguang Ge, but appreciated the overall organization of the layout of the garden and praised the rockery in the south of the garden, about which Liu Dunzhen did not comment. "This medium-sized garden is divided by a well-managed pool in the center of the landscape into a hill garden in the south and a group of buildings in the north. The hill, covered with exuberant planting and masterly arranged rock cliffs and paths, is a good specimen of design but suffers from wrong orientation, since its pictorial composition, viewed from the north bank, stands against the light." Yu'ou Courtyard was also given positive comments. "A small court, isolated by a wall, on the southwest of the pool, containing a streamlet and rockwork with buildings, is exquisite."<sup>135</sup>

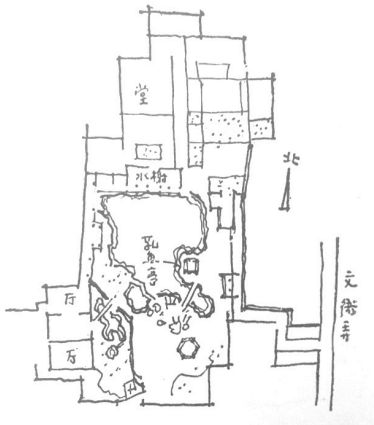


Fig. 2-5 Tong Jun's sketch of the layout of Yipu in the appendix of *Jiangnan Yuanlin Zhi*.

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version was translated by Tong Ming 童明, grandson of Tong Jun, an architect and professor teaching at Tongji University.

<sup>135</sup> Tong Jun, *Jiangnan Yuanlin Zhi* 江南園林誌 [Record of Jiangnan gardens] (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1984), 32. "此外尚有文衙弄街藝圃，本明文氏藥草園。" See also Tong, *Dongnan Yuanshu*, 50.

In 1984, Peng Yigang published *Zhongguo Gudian Yuanlin Fenxi* 中國古典園林分析 [Analysis of Chinese classical gardens], in which he employed modern architectural theory of flowing space, Venturi's post-modernism theory, and Japanese "grey-space" theory to analyze the space of Chinese garden. He used many drawings provided by Liu and Tong's work, and dispersed the useful parts under different themes of spatial analysis such as "kan yu beikan" 看與被看 [to view and to be viewed]; "yangshi fushi" 仰視俯視 [to look up and to look down]; "shentou yu cengci" 滲透與層次 [permeation and layers]." His illustrations are mixed with compositional analysis and perspectives that are frequently employed in western architectural analysis (fig. 2-6). Such analyzing methods have exerted considerable influence upon the entire field of architecture in China. Although Yipu was not used as the major example in this book, much of the later scholarship discussing the space of Yipu followed Peng's methods.

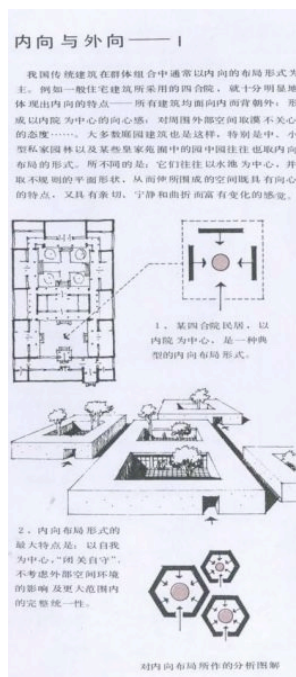


Fig. 2-6 Illustrations from *Zhongguo Gudian Yuanlin Fenxi* showing Peng's analyzing methods.

For example, in “Qianxi Yipu zaoyuan yishu: duibi” 淺析藝圃造園藝術——對比 [Brief analysis of the art of garden making in Yipu: contrast], Liu Xiaofeng 柳曉風 firstly points out the contrast between the narrow space along the entryway and the broad view of the pond.<sup>136</sup> Then he applies three dyads, “shumi” 疏密 [loose and compressed], “xushi” 虛實 [void/fake and solid/true], “quzhi” 曲直 [curved and straight] which have all appeared in Peng Yigang’s *Zhongguo Gudian Yuanlin Fenxi* to examine the design of Yipu. In the author’s opinion, Yipu’s sceneries are compressed in the north and south and loose in the west and east; the bay at the southeast of the pond and the water body that goes into Yu’ou Courtyard seems to be separated from the main water body of the pond but are connected underneath; around the pond, the water bays, and the zigzagged and fluctuated edge of the artificial mountain create diverse small spaces, which make the overall arrangement of the garden bear the curved within the straight.<sup>137</sup>

In another article “Chidu shiyi, shifa ziran,” several keywords that have appeared in Peng’s book are also applied in the analysis, which are “to view and to be viewed,” “to look up and to look down,” “permeation and layers.”

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<sup>136</sup> Liu Xiaofeng 柳曉風, “Qianxi Yipu zaoyuan yishu: duibi” 淺析藝圃造園藝術——對比 [Brief analysis of the art of garden making in Yipu: contrast], *Beijing Yuanlin* 北京園林 [Beijing gardens] 02 (2005). “門廳一線用小空間反襯出主體水面的開闊。”

<sup>137</sup> Liu, “Qianxi Yipu zaoyuan yishu: duibi,” “為了使以水池為中心的主要空間更加疏朗，形成整體佈局的疏密相宜，在水池的東、西兩側把亭、廊引退於平橋、樹石、花草，在其後就勢伸出水灣跨過平折橋，使水面產生源頭不盡的感覺，使中部空間進一步擴大，使觀賞視線進一步延伸。‘藝圃是中央鑿池，水面集中，但在東、西角各有水灣一處。東南由一平石橋和樹石花草組成平靜小水面，和主題水景看似兩處，實為一體，同時豐富空間；西南則以牆隔做旁院引水灣入內為小池，形成水體延伸，虛實的對比，使人產生無盡遐想。在水池的四周廳堂廊榭、花石木草，假山水灣高低錯落散置組成豐富變幻的多樣空間，整體佈局曲中有直、直中有曲。’”

In 1994, Yang Hongxun 楊鴻勛 published *Jiangnan Yuanlin Lun* 江南園林論 [On Jiangnan gardens]. According to the preface, this book was supposed to be published much earlier but was severely delayed. In this book, Yang gave Yanguang Ge very positive comments and considered it “necessarily boring” in response to Liu’s criticisms of “too straight and rigid.”<sup>138</sup> Such comments are in contrast with the previous criticisms of Yanguang Ge which mostly agreed with Liu’s opinion.

Under the subtitle of shuixie 水榭 [water pavilion], Yang used a photo of Yanguang Ge and commented on its extraordinary distance of outstretching from the bank. This is also the first time a photo of Yanguang Ge was provided (fig. 2-7). “One of the effects a water pavilion can create is to simulate the sceneries of the Jiangnan water villages through building an intimate relationship with the water. The interior of the pavilion should be nearly adjacent to the water. A good example is Yipu.”<sup>139</sup> In another page, he pointed out that the receded base of a water pavilion at Huopopo Di 活潑潑地在 Liu Garden creates an effect of the water going underneath and beyond the building without end.<sup>140</sup> In the same book, he also gave positive comments on the part of Yu’ou Courtyard where the giant wall with the moon gate on it connects the relatively closed space of Yu’ou

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<sup>138</sup> Yang Hongxun 楊鴻勛, *Jiangnan Yuanlin Lun* 江南園林論 [On Jiangnan gardens] (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1994), 296. “榭臨湖作懸挑狀，予人以水鄉干闌民居的聯想；榭面闊五間，加之左右連結的耳房，形成一列 31 米長的平直立面，而且屋頂連貫，簷口平直，構成了必要的單調；但在形體輪廓上，屋脊高低不一，全由結構、功能自然形成，不加構圖章法的修辭，這就更加強了它的單純、質樸、粗獷的鄉土氣息。主體建築與水協調一致，共同突出了沼澤水鄉的主題。”

<sup>139</sup> Yang, *Jiangnan Yuanlin Lun*, 132. “一種是描述水鄉景色，為加強與水的親近感，此時，臨水堂榭的室內距水面較近，如蘇州藝圃。”

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, 133. “基座凹進，使河流有穿過的不盡之意。”



Courtyard and the main sceneries of Yipu. Inside Yu'ou Courtyard, there is another courtyard which creates a layered effect.<sup>141</sup>



Fig. 2-7 The photo of Yanguang Ge in Yang Hongxun's *Jiangnan Yuanlin Lun*.

In 2004, Zhang Jiaji 張家驥 added Yipu into his republished *Zhongguo Zaoyuan Yishu Shi* 中國造園藝術史 [The history of garden making in China], and also provided a cross section for the entire garden (fig. 2-8). His attitude toward the relationship between Yanguang Ge and the pond was positive: “the garden is centered on the big pond with a broad surface. Yanguang Ge at the north of the pond spans from the west to the east of the garden. It can be called the largest water pavilion among Suzhou gardens. The front

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid, 297. “主體景象的西南隅有粉牆隔斷的從體景象，粉牆東北面朝向湖沼開月洞門，使這一封閉空間的從體景象與沼澤主體景象之間建立了通透的聯繫。這一從體景象，取山莊院落之意，院內山石間有溪水、石樑。院內有院，以加深景象層次——通過又一道月洞門，進入一兩廳相對的小庭院，院內有湖石花台，略示山地環境。”



part of the water pavilion is overhanging above the water and creates an effect as if it separates the pond into two, and the water is to the north of the pavilion instead of south.... The water surface is broad and concentrated; the buildings are only a few but spacious.... There are only very few objects to the east and the west of the pond. Most of the great scenic spots are concentrated to the south of the pond. Yanguang Ge has a broad field of vision and is the best spot to appreciate the great views of this garden. The pavilion atop of the mountain was built to be appreciated from inside the water pavilion.”<sup>142</sup>

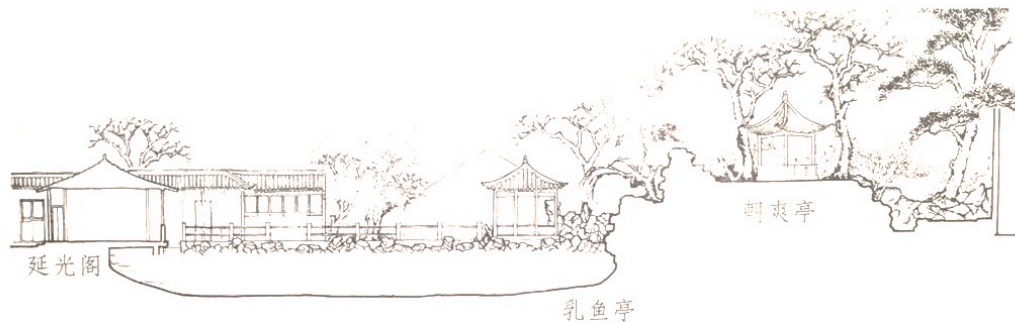


Fig. 2-8 The cross-section of Yipu showing the outstretched front part of Yanguang Ge and its relationships to the pond and the mountain provided in *Zhongguo Zaoyuan Yishu Shi*.

<sup>142</sup> Zhang Jiaji 張家驥 *Zhongguo Zaoyuan Yishu Shi* 中國造園藝術史 [The history of garden making in China], (Taiyuan: Shangxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2004), 437-438.

“園以大池為中心，水面寬闊，池北部‘延光閣’水榭，橫貫園的東西，是蘇州古典園林最大的水榭了。水榭前部懸挑架於水上，如將池一分為二，尚有水在榭北之感。”“藝圃水面大而集中，建築少而宏敞，延光閣橫貫池北，東西兩岸很少景物，而景觀之勝匯集池南，延光閣視野曠如，為園之最佳觀賞處，而山亭造景似為水榭觀賞而設.....但藝圃的空間比較單調，全園只有一條主要遊覽線索，縱目可盡。造園者立意，似不在可遊，而重在可望、可居。若是如此，亦不失為造園者一法。.....將藝圃的疊山理水，比喻為由太湖自然山水裁下的一角和剪下的一片，‘一角’與‘一片’之妙，不是言其小，而是道出藝圃之景宜與坐觀靜賞的特點。延光閣如今已闢為茶室，可說是個很理想的品茗會友的去處了。”

After this book, scholarship started to appreciate Yanguang Ge.<sup>143</sup> However, one should note that his positive comments are already later than Yang's.<sup>144</sup>

*Yuanye* 園冶 or *Zhangwu Zhi* 長物誌: *The Standards of Criticizing Yipu*

*Yuanye* [The craft of gardens] (1634) and *Zhangwu Zhi* [Treatise on superfluous things] are both late Ming treatises related to garden making, and the latter may have an earlier date of writing. Because *Zhangwu Zhi* was written by Wen Zhenheng, the brother of Zhenmeng who was the owner of Yaopu, the content of *Zhangwu Zhi* has frequently been compared with the design of Yipu by modern scholars mentioned above. However, such scholarship usually tends to find matches between the descriptions in *Zhangwu Zhi* and the current design details of Yipu, in order to prove that Yipu is a Ming Dynasty garden. Therefore, taking *Zhangwu Zhi* as the standard to evaluate Yipu's design is also a kind of history-orientated method, which is hidden behind the seemingly architectural evaluation. In essence, it is not different from the standard that "the earlier, the better," and "the more

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<sup>143</sup> Shen Fuxu 沈福煦 held a neutral attitude to the operation of Yan Guangge and in the article published in 2005 he pointed out that it creates a straight northern boundary of the pond which is definite and clean-cut, but the northern line of the pond seems to be too long, which is a little boring. In comparison to the refined Wangshi Garden, Yipu appears to be rough and unadorned. See Shen Fuxu, "Suzhou mingyuan shangxi, shi, Yipu" 蘇州名園賞析 十 藝圃 [Appreciation of the famous Suzhou gardens, ten, Yipu], *Yuanlin* 園林 [Gardens] 08 (2005). "有人以為這座建築置於此，使水岸形成一條長長的平直線，是園中景物處理之敗筆……水榭與兩側附房形成水池的北岸線，岸線平直開闊，乾淨利落，但過長的直線略顯單調與突兀……較網師園的細緻精巧更顯粗獷質樸。"

Hou Jiao 侯嬌 thinks that the straight line between Yanguang Ge and the water surface is an unpretentious treatment which provides a broad view of the garden scenery. See Hou Jiao 侯嬌, Wen Caifeng 文采豐, and Lin Shiping 林世平. "Qianxi Suzhou Yipu dui zhongguo chengshi koudai gongyuan sheji de qifa" 淺析蘇州藝圃對中國城市口袋公園設計的啟發 [A primary analysis of the inspirations of Yipu to the design of the pocket park in cities of China], *Heilongjiang Nongye Kexue* 黑龍江農業科學 [Heilongjiang agricultural sciences] 06 (2013). "在藝圃中建築美與自然美的融糅主要處理的，是博雅堂南面水榭與水面的銜接，直接採用的直線相接，沒有任何矯揉造作，反而有一種開闊景觀的效果。"

<sup>144</sup> Zhang's comments are also later than Wang Shu's appreciation of Yanguang Ge and the representation of Yipu's model in his Wenzheng College Library (1999) which I will discuss in the next chapter.

authentic, the better.” In addition, Wen’s writings in *Zhangwu Zhi* frequently showed strong opinions about whether certain things should be considered beautiful and appropriate, or ugly and kitschy to be placed in the garden without giving further analysis about why they are considered so. Wen’s identity as a highly respected literatus has guaranteed his opinion to be broadly learned, appreciated, and accepted in his circle. His target audiences were also those who aimed to enhance their aesthetics on garden and living style through learning from him in order to better fit themselves into the literati circle. In contrast, the standards of garden appreciation raised in *Yuanye* are more architectural, which not only tended to give judgments on personal tastes and fixed shapes and forms of the objects for living in a garden but also provided principles of garden making and explanations of how those principles are established and why specific designs should be appreciated. In comparison to *Zhangwu Zhi*, which mostly expressed and recorded Wen Zhenheng’s personal tastes of how to live in a garden with a great confidence thanks to his family’s reputation and tradition, *Yuanye* is more like a guidebook of garden making for garden owners, introducing specific methods of how to make a good garden, no matter whether the owner is a scholar or a merchant. In *Yuanye*, certain atmospheres one can feel at some spots of the garden are frequently described. Positive tones are frequently seen; phrases such as “buneng” 不能 [lit. cannot be used], “zuiji” 最忌 [lit. taboo which should be avoided] are not applied as frequently as in *Zhangwu Zhi*. Although using *Zhangwu Zhi* is seemingly more appropriate to evaluate the design of Yipu, no matter whether from the date or the owner of the book, I believe using principles provided in *Yuanye* will help to reach the real architectural criticisms.

Following this clue, I consider the 1980s renovation generally successful. During this renovation, Yanguang Ge was not dismantled just because it was a late Qing addition, even though it had been in bad condition before the renovation. Zhaoshuang Ting atop the mountain which is believed to have provided an object to be viewed from inside Yanguang Ge was also preserved. The renovators seemed to have found a perfect balance between reviving the “authentic” Ming garden and keeping the remaining non-Ming structures. If the renovator decided to remake the garden to its Ming configuration, it is safe to say that they could do it, especially considering the budget for this project was very high. However, they chose to keep what remained in the garden through a series of careful on-site evaluations of the building conditions, and thus have successfully preserved many valuable historical clues for scholars to further reveal the history of the garden.

The historical standards for evaluating a garden should be slightly different from that of the other types of traditional architecture, for which in many cases the period of the original construction is considered the primary value. A historic garden that survives to the present-day has usually experienced multiple episodes of renovation, expansion or contraction in the process of being transferred to different owners’ hands. Every change made to the garden can tell us the story of the owner, his tastes and thinking on garden making, as well as how the family lived in the garden. Such information should also be well preserved. If one merely pursues the old configuration of the garden at the time of its initial construction, a vast amount of historical data will be lost. In other words, a garden

should not be treated as a monument, and its spirit is in its perpetual process of changes. To reveal the real authenticity of a garden is to find out the exact building dates of every single building, mountain, pond, and any changes made to them with the correct dates. Simply considering the entire Yipu as a Ming garden or trying to make it into a Ming garden are in reality following a fake historical standard.

### **The Perception of the Contemporary Yipu: A Model of Chinese Modernist Architectural Design**

*Wang Shu 王澐 and Yipu*

In 1999, the World Congress of the International Union of Architects [UIA] was for the first time held in Beijing, China. Wang Mingxian 王明賢 gathered eight young architects of China including Wang Shu to participate in the Congress exhibition. It was at this exhibition that Wang Shu posted one of his projects, the Library of Wenzheng College 文正學院圖書館, which was by then under construction.

In 2000, the built project was published in the Chinese journal *Architects* (no. 96), and was the cover building of that issue. Wang Shu's long article in that issue called "Shijian tingzhi de chengshi" 時間停滯的城市 [The city of stagnant time] which was traditionally an illustration for the published project was in reality more of an excerpt from his Ph.D. dissertation about architectural theory. In this article, his new project only took one-tenth of the total content. When he finally started to explain this project at the end of the article, he suddenly shifted to explain the organization of the layout of Yipu:

“The original concept came up when I was in Yipu. It is a garden rarely known by tourists. Tong Ming and I were drinking tea in the Ming Tang which is adjacent to the water with a straightforward treatment at its edge.<sup>145</sup> The giant scale of the Ming Tang and the small size of the garden seemed to be a little unproportioned. A simple cuboid volume is directly placed across the water in an almost blunt way. However, people actually forget about its existence, and this idea shocked me. I realized that it is its vacuity that makes it disappear, and it is to be experienced through being used rather than to be viewed. Those lattice window panels which could be removed cancel the façade of the building. In contrast, the Ming Dynasty small pavilion across the pond which is an unusable building is the only object to be viewed. Here, this small part [the pavilion] is more important than the entirety [Yanguang Ge]. This principle allows me to understand how to make a giant building with a large volume vanish in the mountains and waters on a narrow site. I need to let people go inside.”<sup>146</sup>

This paragraph explains why he placed a seemingly useless small white box in between the library and the water body in Wenzheng (fig. 2-9). He assumes when people enter the library, the pressure of the giant volume of the library exerted upon the landscape will not be seen. Instead, they will see the proper proportion between the small white box and the landscape, just as in Yanguang Ge people will see the Ruyu Pavilion backgrounded by the artificial mountain and the pond (fig. 2-10).

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<sup>145</sup> The Ming Tang Wang Shu mentioned is actually Yanguang Ge which is currently a tea house. He called it Ming Tang because it is the biggest building at the most important position in the garden.

<sup>146</sup> Wang Shu 王澐, *Sheji de Kaishi* 設計的開始 [The beginning of design] (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 2002), 169-170.

“最初的想法就產生在藝圃，這裏很少有遊客知道，我和童明等朋友在明堂裡喝茶，明堂臨水，邊界直截了當。不過，明堂的尺度之大和園子之小如此不成比例，一個簡單的長方形體量以直線方式橫陳水面，幾乎生硬，而人們實際上卻忘記了它的存在，這個念頭讓我震驚。我意識到正是它的空虛讓它消失，它是用來在使用中體驗的，不是用來看的，它全部可拆卸的門窗使它沒有立面。相反，水池對面的明代亭子，一座無用的小房子，卻是被看的對象，在這裡，局部大於整體，這個原則使我明白如何在一處狹窄的基地上，讓一座空間容積要求巨大的房子在青山碧水中消失，它要讓人進去。”



Fig. 2-9 The “useless” small white box detached to the main volume, the Library of Wenzheng College. Wang, *Sheji de Kaishi*.



Fig. 2-10 Viewing the small white box from inside the library (left); viewing Ruyu Pavilion from inside Yanguang Ge (right). Wang, *Sheji de Kaishi*; photo by the author.

Wang Shu’s comments on Yipu differ from all the above-mentioned scholars’ including Liu Dunzhen, Tong Jun, Peng Yigang, Zhang Jiaji and Yang Hongxun. He is neither criticizing it by using a historical standard nor through a theorist’s point of view. Instead, he directly transplanted his spatial experiences in Yipu into the problem he was facing in

practice. Such an operation is obviously of great attraction to architectural students: it does not require one to be a historian or a theorist of Chinese garden first, and one can directly apply what he has felt and experienced in a garden space into his design.

In 2001, Wang Shu held the exhibition “Biangeng Tongzhi: Zhongguo Fangzi Wuren Jianzao Wenxian Zhan” 變更通知——中國房子五人建造文獻展 [A notice of change: five Chinese builders’ literature] at Roof Top Gallery in Shanghai. From then on, young architects with shared interests in Chinese gardens started to gather around him. Taking the opportunity of the one-week Chinese garden field trip for the students of the Chinese Academy of Art, they went to Yanguang Ge to discuss topics around Chinese architecture and garden over tea gatherings every year. Later on, aside from Tong Ming, Dong Yugan 董豫巖 who teaches at Peking University, and Ge Ming 葛明 who teaches at Southeast University joined in; Wang Xin 王欣, Wang Baozhen 王寶珍, Zhang Yi 張翼 and Zeng Renzhen 曾仁臻, who were by then architectural students have all joined the gathering in later years.

In 2007, the first “Garden and Architecture” conference was held in the former residence of Tong Jun in Nanjing. It was in this conference that the Chinese architectural theorist Wang Qun 王群 jokingly called Wang Shu, Tong Ming, Dong Yugan, and Ge Ming as “Four Gentlemen of Garden Making.” The discussions were published in the book *Yuanlin yu Jianzhu* 園林與建築 [Garden and architecture] (2009) which was from then on given the utmost attention in studies of architecture of China.



*Architectural Educators' Explorations of the Model of Yipu: Dong Yugan and Ge Ming*

In 2005, Dong Yugan finished his PhD dissertation titled “Dongjing, yijing, huajing: shanshui (shi), shuimo (hua) and shanlin (yuan)” 動境·意境·化境——山水(詩)·水墨(畫)·山林(園) [The dynamic, conceptual, and transforming realms of Chinese arts: landscape poems, paintings, and gardens]. In this dissertation, he cited Wang Shu’s comments on Yipu, but his interest in Yipu was focused on the contrast between Yu’ou Courtyard and the main scenery of the garden: “The pond and the mountain: the huge wall of Yu’ou Courtyard pauses the path along which the scenery flows, but the moon gate on the wall allows it to continue (fig. 2-11).”



Fig. 2-11 Viewing from inside Yu’ou Courtyard toward Yanguang Ge. Photo by the author.

In his book *Cong Jiaju Jianzhu dao Banzhai Banyuan* 從家具建築到半宅半園 [From furniture architecture to half-house and half-garden] (2010), Dong mentioned the huge

wall in Yipu again when he discussed his design of the rear garden of Qingshui Huiguan 清水會館 [The Brick Mansion]: “I intended to create a similar valley with simple rubble masonry and fill it with the water coming from the well preexisted at the northwest corner of the site. I planned to make the water fall several times to create an acoustic effect, and then lead it to the pond from an overhanging platform above the water, just like Yanguang Ge.”<sup>147</sup> This idea was not realized because of the budget, but it was soon realized in another project, the Red Brick Museum (2009). In Dong’s book *Baibi yu Feixu* 敗壁與廢墟 [Dilapidated walls and abandoned ruins] (2012) which was written for this project, he recorded how his practice was inspired by Yipu.

“The stone courts are situated to the north of the pond and the south of the mountain, and were set in between the mountain earth and the huge wall. I divided this narrow space into three parts from the west to the east and made them contain a stone pond in the east, a stone mountain in the middle, and some trees in the west respectively. The three openings on the wall as high as the wall in Yipu frame three garden elements -- water, mountain, and trees.”<sup>148</sup>

The three round openings on the wall with equal distances today become the symbol of the Red Brick Museum printed on the museum ticket (fig. 2-12). Another round opening that is placed to the east of and at an angle to the bridge was also inspired by the moon gate of Yu’ou Courtyard. Arranging the opening with an angle to the direction of the bridge creates a sense of depth -- it does not fully show where the bridge leads before one comes close to the opening (fig. 2-13).

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<sup>147</sup> Dong Yugan, *Baibi yu Feixu* 敗壁與廢墟 [Dilapidated walls and abandoned ruins] (Shanghai: Tongji Daxue Chubanshe, 2012), 69. “我試圖以簡樸的毛石牆堆出一座類似的山澗，並希望利用地西北角現有的眼深井為野趣的池塘補水，讓水流疊響於山間幾折成澗後，從一個近似藝圃橫互於水面的近水平台下，瀑入池塘。”

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 47. “石庭位於池北山南，它由北部土山與南部大牆夾合而成，在這條東西狹長的空腔裡，我計劃將它們從東往西分割為三部分，分別容納東部的石池、中部的石山、西部的林木，透過南部一堵高如藝圃之牆的三個等距圓洞，它們將被分別框景為園林的三種景物要素——水、山、林木。”

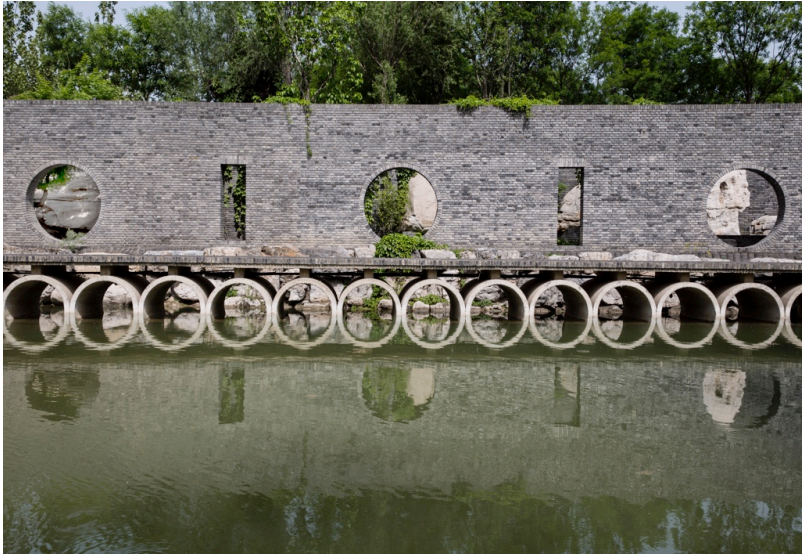


Fig. 2-12 The wall with three round openings and the seventeen-vaults bridge in front of it, Red Brick Museum, Beijing. Designed by Yugan Dong, photo by Yu Xing 邢宇.



Fig. 2-13 The moon gate at the east end of the bridge. Designed by Dong Yugan, photo by the author.

In 2016, Dong Yugan published *Jiuzhang Zaoyuan* 九章造園 [Nine chapters on garden making]. In the chapter “Shuangyuan bafa” 雙園八法 [Two gardens, eight strategies], he developed a comparative study of Jichang Garden 寄暢園, in Wuxi 無錫, and Xiequ Garden 諧趣園, in Beijing, and highly appreciated the organization of Yipu which pairs the water and water pavilion.

“The phrase ‘cloudy mountains on the three sides and the city on the other’ depicts the natural dyad of the mountain and the city of Hangzhou; ‘the mountain and the pond oppose the water pavilion’ narrates the man-made dyad in Yipu. It provides an example of how to make an artificial heaven. These two kinds of ideal dwellings in the city share the same method Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 applies in composing his poems of mountain-dwelling: ‘the natural’ to ‘the artificial’ parallel with ‘the heaven’ and ‘the human;’ ‘the mountains and the forests’ to ‘places to live’ parallel with ‘the mountain’ to ‘the dwelling.’”<sup>149</sup>

Around 2010, Ge Ming 葛明 started to conceive his “Six Principles of Garden Making.” Teased by Wang Shu as a martyr of architectural education, Ge Ming by then was already very famous in his university and even in China for his invitation of “Raumplan” into the design training he schemed for the university’s architecture curriculum from 2006. At the same time, he had participated in almost every gathering organized by Wang Shu and Dong Yugan in Yipu. His “Six Principles of Garden Making” can be considered an

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<sup>149</sup> Dong Yugan, *Jiuzhang Zaoyuan* 九章造園 [Nine chapters on garden making] (Tongji Daxue Chubanshe, 2016), 185.

“三面雲山一面城，是杭州城居與山川的天然對仗，幾面亭榭對池山，則是藝圃為蘇州提供人造天堂的密度對仗，這兩類中國城市居住天堂的經營法，共享謝靈運的山-居詩歌對仗法：以天然對人工，對而為天-人；以山林對居所，對而成山-居。”

endeavor to invite Chinese garden into the design training of modern architecture, in which Yipu takes a significant position because of its unusual arrangement.

First, different from the Wangshi Garden, in which the buildings are scattered around the pond, to most students with architecture background, Yipu's arrangement is much easier to digest and control -- it can be separated into two parts, the landscape and the building complex (fig. 2-14). In contrast, as much as Wangshi Garden has been highly appreciated by many scholars, following such a model will easily lead to an unordered design. Second, the arrangement of Yipu can be used to tackle two situations: when the site is limited, and only half of it could be turned into a garden; when the building part is to be renewed. Third, such an arrangement has more than one example in garden history. On the one hand, Ge Ming noticed the differences between the Wangshi Garden and Yipu; on the other hand, he pointed out that the clear separation exemplified by Yanguang Ge in Yipu can also be found in Wangshi Garden at its eastern edge -- the giant side wall of the residential part (fig. 2-15). In addition, Ge Ming also searched evidence for the method of "separation" in Dong Yugan's Red Brick Museum. He considered the giant wall and the seventeen vaults long bridge set in front of the wall as the best parts of the garden, which resemble the idea of how Yanguang Ge separates the garden in Yipu (fig. 2-16).



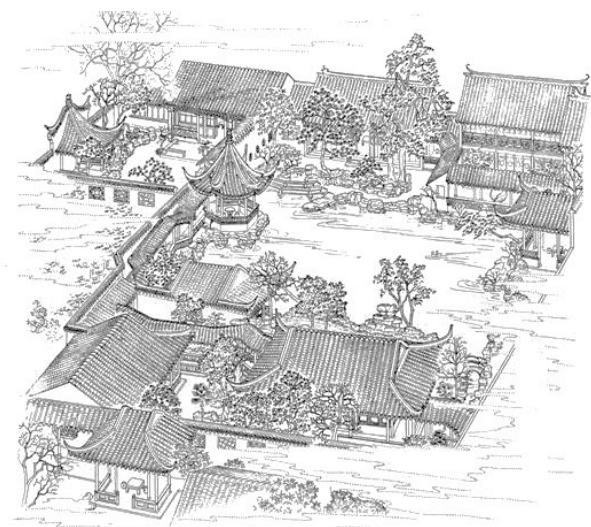


Fig. 2-14 The relationship between the buildings and the pond in Wangshi Garden. Liu, *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin*.



Fig. 2-15 The side wall of the residential part of Wangshi Garden separating the garden and the building complex of the house. Photo by Ge Ming.



Fig. 2-16 The giant wall and the seventeen-vaults long bridge separating the pond and the mountain, Red Brick Museum, Beijing. Designed by Dong Yugan, photo by Dong Yugan.

*Other Architects' Explorations of the Model of Yipu: Li Xinggang and Wang Baozhen*

In 2006, Li Xinggang finished his part of the design in “Eight Places of Interests,”

Nanning, a group project organized by Dong Yugan. He named his part Ke Garden 嵒園.

In this project, he directly applies Yipu as the model and situates its layout to his site with the original direction adjusted (fig. 2-17). The west hall resembles Yanguang Ge; the east pond and mountain resemble those of Yipu; the pavilion at the left corner looks like Ruyu Pavilion but is slightly moved; the pavilion on top of the mountain reminds us of Zhaoshuang Pavilion in Yipu; the U-shaped courtyard building complex shares a similar

form with Qinlu complex inside Yu'ou Courtyard; even the corridor looks like Xiangyue Corridor. However, this design was never realized.

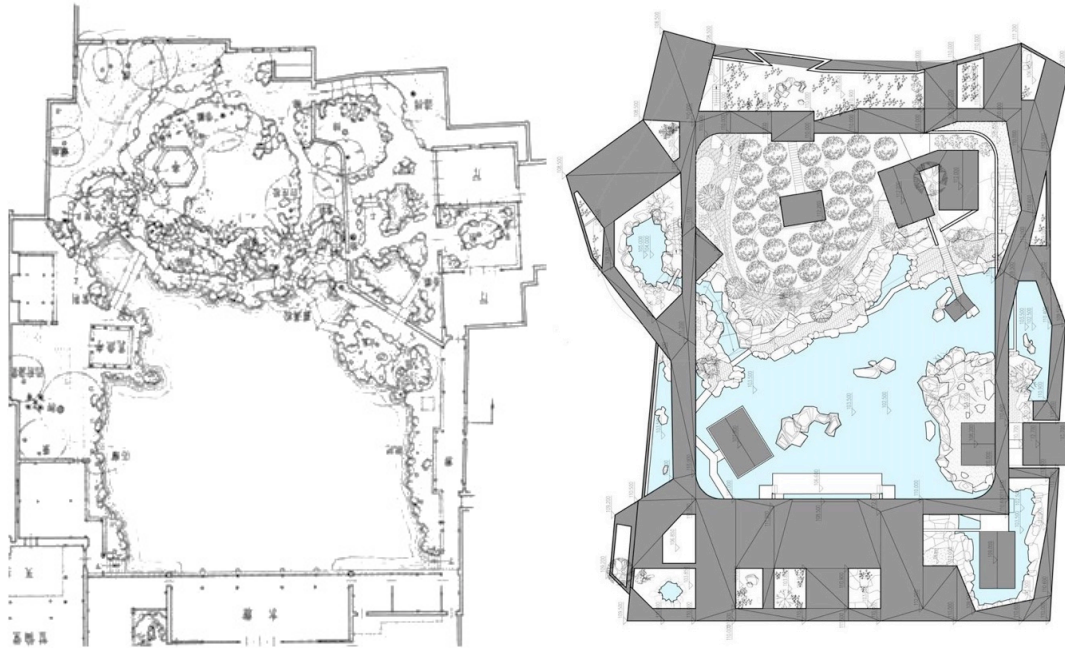


Fig. 2-17 The plan of Yipu with the orientation rotated (left), provided by Li Xinggang; the rooftop plan of Ke Garden (right), provided by Li Xinggang.

The idea was continued in another project one year later, the Rushan Culture and Nature Center 乳山文博中心. Li once again collaged the layout of Yipu and attempted to represent the idea of viewing the landscape from inside Yanguang Ge, but in an absolute interior space with a large volume (fig. 2-18). He separated the internal space under the giant roof into three parts: one is intact and large in volume resembling Yanguang Ge; one is trivial and undulating imitating the mountain of Yipu; the vacant space between the two echoes the broad water surface of the pond of Yipu. Interestingly, the moon gate theme is once again used to recall Yu'ou Courtyard.





Fig. 2-18 Interior perspective in the Rushan Cultural and Nature Center resembling the view gained from inside Yanguang Ge. Provided by Li Xinggang.

Dong Yugan was astonished by Li's operation, which directly internalizes a whole garden. He sighed: "If you can remove the roof, that will be wonderful!" Li did not respond to that comment, but he also regretted that the result that these two projects remained unbuilt did not leave him any opportunity to continue experimenting on modernizing garden spaces. These two projects and his built project Jixi Museum 績溪博物館 afterward, showed his endeavor in this trajectory, which was later revealed in the 079 special issue of UED [Urban Environment Design] organized for him titled *Shengjing yu Jihe* 勝景與幾何 [Poetic scenery and integrated geometry] in 2014.<sup>150</sup> The title also showed his ambition of combining the core of Western architecture -- the geometrical operation of volumes, and the essence of Chinese garden -- the fantastic sceneries, together.

<sup>150</sup> Li Xinggang 李星鋼, "Jihe yu shengjing" 幾何與勝景 [Poetic scenery and integrated geometry] UED Special Issue 079 (2014).

Wang Baozhen is one of the talented young architects of China who is interested in Chinese gardens. He has already had multiple projects built. In his book *Zaoyuan Shilu* 造園實錄 [Craft of three gardens: an architect's practice in Guangxi (2017), Wang Baozhen mentioned the influences of Yipu on his practice:

“There is the so-called ‘using literary quotation’ in writing, [so it is in garden making]. The state I pursue in my design is to allow the audience to recall some themes they are familiar with. The Northern Garden may be able to reflect a profile of the Yu’ou Courtyard.”<sup>151</sup>

In this book, he also quoted his friend Zhang Yi’s 張翼 comments:

“I like the view from the platform to the moon gate of the Yunyou Hall very much. That’s because it so much looks like the moon gate through which Xiangyue Lang is connected to Yu’ou Courtyard in Yipu! Baozhen dared to name the water pavilion in front of the bridge as ‘Xiangyue Pavilion,’ his intention was so obvious (fig. 2-19).”<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Wang Baozhen 王寶珍, *Zaoyuan Shilu* 造園實錄 [Craft of three gardens: an architect's practice in Guangxi], (Shanghai: Tongji Daxue Chubanshe, 2017). “文學有‘用典’之法，而我平素試圖追求的設計狀態之一是，似乎能察覺到一些熟悉的影子……北園或許能折射出藝圃的浴鷗小院。”

<sup>152</sup> Wang, *Zaoyuan Shilu*, “我非常喜歡坐在露台上凝望雲幽廳月洞的視角：那太像我所深愛的藝圃——‘響月廊’旁通向浴鷗院的那個月洞。寶珍居然把橋頭的水亭命名為‘響月亭’，其用心昭然。”



Fig. 2-19 The moon gate in Rong Garden, designed by Baozhen Wang, photo by Wang Baozhen (left); the moon gate of Yu'ou Courtyard in Yipu (right), photo by Zeng Renzhen.

According to Wang Baozhen himself, the first two points about Yipu that caught his attention were learned from Dong Yugan. Dong's opinion on the two dyads: the landscape versus the buildings, and the forbidden attitude of Yu'ou Courtyard versus the opening gesture of the main landscape has influenced Wang's design of Rong Garden. In

addition, the limited site of Rong Garden also categorized itself into the second group Ge Ming depicted. Facing the problematic of how to make a garden in front of an already built villa, Wang Baozhen naturally employed the intelligence of the design of Yipu, although he was criticized by Dong Yugan that the falling water he designed is not facing any building that provides a place for people to stay, but rather a passage way everyone just passes through (fig. 2-20).



Fig. 2-20 The dyad of the water hall and the northern pond in Rong Garden. Designed by Wang Baozhen, photo by Wang Baozhen.

## Conclusion

This chapter reveals four kinds of perceptions of Yipu in four phases. The first phase is from when the property was established to the end of the Jiang Family's Yipu; the second phase is from the time Yipu belonged to the Wu merchants to the time of Qixiang Guild Office of Silk; the third phase is modern times, roughly beginning from the 1930s to 1999; the fourth phase is after 1999.

In the first phase, especially before Jiang Cai passed away, there was a serious lack of design-related criticisms of Yipu. The reason could be traced back to the special experiences the first three owners of Yipu shared: they were all former officials in the central government, and all have undergone either mistreatment by the court or family tragedies. Yipu at that time should be identified as a private garden for the scholar-gentlemen's moral expressions and an emotional connection to its former owners. The main purpose of inviting peer scholars in the owner's circle to write the essays about Yipu was to seek others' agreement on the owners' self-identification. Not until Jiang Cai passed away and Yipu was inherited by his son Jiang Shijie have the architectural depictions of the garden gradually increased.

Entering the second phase, Yipu was gradually transformed into a venue for more than the owner's family and his close friends. The later, the more public the garden became. It was under the Wu merchants' ownership that the present-day Yanguang Ge was built and thus separated Yipu into two parts, the public part including the garden and Yanguang Ge for meetings with the business partners and the private quarter for the owner's family. During the phase of Qixiang Guild Office of Silk, the garden was further publicized and was turned into an institutional place for people in the same industry to discuss business, worship their shared gods, and help the vulnerable groups within the industry. Although the average area of the garden owned by a single person was largely reduced, and the "owners" visits became only occasional instead of on a daily base, the geographical scope this institute could reach and cover expanded beyond the wall of the garden and even beyond the city wall of Suzhou.

During the third phase, all the opinions on how to perceive Yipu can be separated into two main groups. One group held the historical perspective and considered Yipu a good example of Ming Dynasty garden design. This opinion was more or less related to the method of studying timber architecture by the first-generation architectural historians, as well as the event of preparing Yipu to be listed on the Extended List of World Heritage Sites. However, this opinion was also to a large extent misleading. The other group tended to criticize the design of Yipu more architecturally, and the focuses were mostly on Yanguang Ge and the overall spatial arrangement of the building and the landscape of the garden. Later, the negative attitude to the design of Yanguang Ge was interestingly changed to positive. Among all the architectural criticisms, Peng Yigang's methods of analyzing the spatial composition of the garden became very influential. Although he applied many traditional terms in his analysis, his methods were essentially still following the geometrical analysis borrowed from the Beaux-Art system rather than from China's own garden tradition.

In the fourth phase, Yipu was identified as a model classical garden by modern architects. Most of them ignored the Ming historical identity of it and directly used the spatial relationship between the landscape and the buildings, which was a result of the late Qing shrinkage of Yipu, to inspire their designs. Most of them held positive attitudes toward the design of Yanguang Ge, continuing the scholarly opinions generated during the later time of the third phase. Some of them further discovered the value of Yu'ou Courtyard based on their study of *Yuanye*, and adopted the design of it in diverse ways in their practices. In the next chapter, this dissertation will further develop a discussion of the

fourth phase in the context of the modernism of architecture in China through a comparative study with the modernism of architecture in Japan.

## CHAPTER 3

### MODERNIST LEGACY OF YIPU: A COMPARATIVE STUDY WITH KATSURA IMPERIAL VILLA IN THE CONTEXT OF MODERNISM IN CHINA AND JAPAN

#### **Introduction: Yipu and Katsura: The Modernist Legacy in the Context of Modernism in Architecture**

Yipu and Katsura Imperial Villa share many common traits which allow one to consider them together. First, they are both traditional residences including a garden, which can be considered the complete form of dwellings in East Asia. Second, Katsura and Yipu have very close founding dates, and both have experienced additions and renovations many times after the initial construction. Katsura was constructed in three stages, roughly during the mid-fifty years of the seventeenth century. First commissioned in 1615 by the princes of two generations of the Hachijō 八條家 branch of the Imperial Family, Toshihito 智仁親王 (1579-1629), and his son, Toshitada 智忠親王 (1619-1662), Katsura reached its present state upon the visit of Emperor Go-Mizuno 後水尾天皇 (1596-1680) in 1663. The New-Shoin was commissioned as his accommodation.<sup>153</sup> It was during the same period that Yipu had gone through the phases of Wen's Yaopu (1620-1646) and Jiang's Yipu (1660-1696), in which the construction on the property was largely expanded.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Isozaki Arata, *Katsura Imperial Villa* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2015), 9. The exact dates of inception and completion are still being debated, but it is safe to suggest that the project was first conceived in 1615 when the land came under the family's ownership.

<sup>154</sup> See Chapter I of this dissertation.



Unlike Yipu, Katsura has received intensive international attention since the 1930s, first by modern architects and then by architectural historians. Discussions around Katsura have played key roles in modern architects' seeking of "Japanese-ness" in tradition as well as in their practice of architectural design. To an extent, this individual site has been established as a model to be followed, discussed, and interpreted by both international and domestic modern architects such as Bruno Taut (1880-1938), Horiguchi Sutemi 堀口捨己 (1895-1984), Walter Gropius (1883-1969), Tange Kenzō 丹下健三 (1913-2005), and Isozaki Arata 磯崎新 (1931-), in the process of modernism coming to Japan.

Similarly, from the beginning of this century, Yipu also started to be discussed, written about, and included in architectural lectures as a quality example of Suzhou garden by a group of Chinese modern architects such as Wang Shu 王澍, Tong Ming 童明, Ge Ming 葛明, Dong Yugan 董豫赣, and Wang Xin 王欣 who teach in architecture departments in universities and academies in China. Among them is the 2012 Pritzker Architecture Prize winner Wang Shu whose two most important works have been directly inspired by Yipu.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Important works include:

Horiguchi, Sutemi 堀口捨己. *Katsura Rikyū* 桂離宮 [The Katsura Imperial Villa]. Tōkyō: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1952. Overseas Edition, 1953;

Mori Osamu 森蘊. *Katsura Rikyū no Kenkyū* 桂離宮の研究 [Research of Katsura]. Tōkyō: Tōto Bunka Shuppan, 1955;

Tange Kenzō 丹下健三, and Ishimoto Yasuhiro 石元泰博. *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture*. Yale University Press, 1960;

Isozaki Arata, Ishimoto Yasuhiro. *Katsura Villa: Space and Form*. New York: Rizzoli, 1983;

---, Virginia Ponciroli. *Katsura: Imperial Villa*. New York: Phaidon Press, 2005;

Nakamori Yasufumi 中森康文, Ishimoto Yasuhiro. *Katsura: Picturing Modernism in Japanese Architecture*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2010;

Isozaki Arata. *Japan-ness in Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2011.

The modern architects Wang Shu and Wang Xin are teaching in the Department of Architecture and Art at China Academy of Art; Tong Ming is teaching in the Department of Urban Planning at Tongji University;

Just as Japan has been through a debate between the so called “*teikan* style” (imperial crown) and modern style architecture in the 1930s, China has also put enough attention from the 1930s to the 1950s on the so-called “giant roof” which is basically referring to the same element of a building as the *teikan*-a giant roof in a traditional architectural style. By placing such a roof on the modern-material-made cubic volume, it forms a typical eclectic style of modern China -- the “giant-roof” building (fig. 3-1). When it comes to seeking modernist architectural forms from their own traditions, the two countries’ architects have both turned to the residential building types instead of major monuments. In the end, in Japan the *shoin* style, and in China the Chinese garden.<sup>156</sup> More interestingly, in the history of modernist architecture in China and Japan, the significant architects and architectural historians have shared similar educational experiences, encounters, and even personal characteristics. However, it is in the nuances in the process and in the different statuses of current architectural practices in the two countries that we can build the complete images of Chinese and Japanese modern architecture. To discover those nuances and the reasons that have caused them, a comparative study of the modernist legacies of Yipu and Katsura in the context of modernism in architecture in China and Japan is conducted in this chapter.

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Ge Ming is teaching in the Department of Architecture at Southeast University; Dong Yugan is teaching at the Graduate Center of Architecture at Peking University.

Wang Shu explicitly mentioned the Wenzheng project was inspired by Yipu. See Su Wang 王澐, “Shijian tingzhi de chengshi,” 時間停滯的城市 [The city of stagnant time] *Jianzhushi* 建築師 [The architect] 96, (2000).

See also Wang Shu 王澐, *Sheji de Kaishi* 設計的開始 [The beginning of design] (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 2002), 169-170.

<sup>156</sup> As the important models for modern architecture design, the building part of Katsura is an example of the *shoin* style Japanese house, whereas Yipu is a typical Jiangnan house with a garden.



Fig. 3-1 The *teikan* style building in Japan and the “giant-roof building” in China. Tokyo Imperial Museum by Jun Watanabe, Ueno, Tokyo, 1937 (top); Hankou Shangye Yinhang 漢口商業銀行 [Commercial Bank of Hankou] by Chen Nianci 陈念慈, Hankou, 1933 (bottom). Source: Isozaki, *Japan-ness in Architecture*, 10.

It was not until 1963 that Yipu was listed as a Preservation Unit of the City of Suzhou, which was 30 years later than Taut “rediscovered” Katsura. For the world to know about Yipu, it was even later, 1999. The date when Yipu was noticed and appreciated by

modern architects was also much later than by architectural historians, while Katsura has gained the two kinds of attention in reversed order.

What took so long for Chinese architects to rediscover the value of traditional Chinese gardens in inspiring their designs? Why now? How has Yipu inspired them in comparison to Katsura's inspiration of Japanese architects? Had they also been seeking "Chinese-ness" from traditional Chinese architecture before? How is it and why is it different from the way the notion of "Japanese-ness" evolved? Before answering these questions, a brief history of how modernist architecture entered China and Japan and how traditional architecture in these two countries partook in the process will be elaborated.

In this chapter, several questions will be discussed in the following two sections, the first about Japan and the second about China. First, what are the discussions of Katsura and Yipu in the context of modernism in the domestic environment of the two countries? Second, what were the relationships between the discussions by modern architects and discussions by architectural historians? Third, how have Japan and China promoted "Japanese-ness" and "Chinese-ness" to the Western world and what kind of responses have they received? Last, a comparative analysis will be provided to elaborate the differences and the accordant reasons of the two cases discussed in the previous two sections.

## **Katsura, Shoin Style, and Japanese-ness in Modern Architecture of Japan**

### *Finding “Japanese-ness” in Modern Discussions around Katsura*

#### Taut’s Rediscovery of Katsura and the Debate about Modernist architecture and Teikan Style

It is commonly agreed that the modern attention on Katsura Imperial Villa was brought about by Bruno Taut (1880-1938), the world-renowned modern German architect who visited the imperial property right upon his arrival in Japan in 1933. His visit was accompanied by Shimomura Shōtarō 下村翔太郎, owner of the Daimaru 大丸 department store chain and the modernist architect Ueno Isaburō 上野異三郎, for whom it might have been the first visit to Katsura because the villa was the property of the imperial court. An appointment was needed.<sup>157</sup>

Taut was astonished by what he saw in Katsura during his first visit. His book entitled *Nippon Seen through European Eyes* was soon published in Japanese in 1934. It contained two chapters on Katsura. In this book, he affirmed Katsura Imperial Villa as a masterpiece according to the measure of modern architecture. This opinion was certainly favored by the architect who accompanied Taut’s visit as well as by a group of Japanese architects who sought to embrace modernism in their homeland at that moment. Katsura, as an example of traditional architecture of Japan, was from then on identified as one of the models for modern Japanese architecture. Even Taut seems not to have expected so

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<sup>157</sup> Manfred Speidel, “Bruno Taut and the Katsura Villa,” in Isozaki and Ponciroli, *Katsura*, 319.

great an influence of his opinion upon modern Japanese architecture. In his diary, he wrote that he “seems to be considered the discoverer of Katsura Imperial Villa.”<sup>158</sup>

It is worth noticing that the time Taut visited Katsura, the 1930s, was right after the decade when critical debates on what is Japanese-ness in architecture between two groups of architects were ongoing. The two groups involved were those who advocated the *teikan-heigō-shiki* (crown-topped style), represented by Shimoda Kikutaro 下田菊太郎 (1866-1931), and those who believed Japanese-ness and modern architecture could coexist, and modern architecture might replace the elevational eclecticism of the *teikan* style, represented by Horiguchi Sutemi.<sup>159</sup> This is to say that the Japanese-ness that once appeared to have been informed mainly by Taut and to have coalesced in the mid-1930s, had in fact been constructed piecemeal over the previous decades, mainly by those Japanese architects privileged to study contemporary modern architecture in Europe, argues Isozaki Arata, an architect and also an architectural critic.<sup>160</sup> The latter group needed an authoritative spokesperson. Taut showed up at the right time. In other words, modernism had already come to Japan before Taut arrived, but his involvement certainly imbued considerable strength for Japanese modernist architects in their battle with the *teikan* style competitors. It was likely that Katsura was intentionally selected by modernist architects as an example of Japan to impress the authority and to get advantages in that debate with *teikan* style supporters.

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<sup>158</sup> Isozaki, *Japan-ness in Architecture*, 12.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, 8-9.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, 10-11.

However, among all the extant *shoin* style national treasures in Japan, Katsura happened to be an imperial property. The qualities of the site Taut celebrated, including the exposed materials, elimination of decorative detail, and orthogonal composition with movable partition walls are widely shared by most of the *shoin* style buildings. Then comes the question: why Katsura? Anyone who knows a little about Japanese architectural history knows that *shoin* style matured under the sponsorship of warrior class after the Heian period, in contrast to the *shinden* style which developed under the sponsorship of Heian aristocrats. *Shoin* style also developed from *shinden* style. In other words, Katsura might not be the most appropriate example that speaks for the *shoin* style Taut appreciated, especially when one tries to link the beauty of the austere aesthetic of *shoin* style to its sponsor -- the imperial house. One may argue that the knowledge about *shinden* style and *shoin* style had not yet been clearly provided by the study of architectural history of Japan in the 1930s, and it is true that during the Edo period, the imperial family had not been at the advantageous positions of political and financial power which could have directly led to this austere aesthetic. One must put the whole event into the background of pre-war Japan to understand it. Building the image of a *Tennō*-ruled nation-state had become a priority of the Japanese government.<sup>161</sup> The goal was to liberate Asia from Western domination by constructing the so-called Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere under Japanese sponsorship. Therefore, the seeking of Japanese-ness in this

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<sup>161</sup> Horiguchi can be considered the first scholar who looked into the *shoin* style. He embarked on his research in the 1940s. See Horiguchi, Suteimi. “Kundaikan sochōki no kenchiku teki kenkyū: Muromachi jidai no shōin sojite chashitsu kō.” 君台觀左右帳記の建築的研究——室町時代の書院及茶室考 [The study of the architectures of Lundaikan Sochōki: the shōin and the tea house of Muromachi period]. *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 美術研究 [Journal of art studies] 122, (Feb 1942): 1-21.

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period is inevitably correlated to the willingness to express the Tennō's (the emperor's) power and authority. Intentionally or not, a visit to Katsura by Taut had been arranged under such a context. The political background also explains why the expression of Japanese-ness in contrast to Western architecture was so urgent on both sides of the debate, the *teikan* style supporters and the modernism advocates.

Before the 1930s, *shoin* style buildings had already appeared on international platforms. In the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, the interior of the right wing of the replica of the Hōōdō, or Phoenix Hall, of the Byōdō-in in Uji had been installed as if it were in *shoin* style. In 1954, a modified replica of the Guest House of Kōjōin 光浄院客殿 in Ōtsu 大津 was set up at the Museum of Modern Art, New York (fig. 3-2; fig. 3-3).<sup>162</sup> Both examples of the *shoin* style buildings were exhibited overseas, where they exerted immense influence upon contemporary American houses. Their influence upon American houses will be further elaborated in below.

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<sup>162</sup> The interior style of the right wing was of the Ashikaga Era (1397-1568). This pavilion was divided into two rooms, a library and a tea room by sliding doors. To one side of each room was a *tokonoma*, for displaying art objects. Other furnishing consists primarily of decorative pieces on shelves, hanging scrolls, and tea and incense utensils. See Clay Lancaster, "Japanese buildings in the United States before 1900: their influence upon American domestic architecture," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 35, No. 3 (Sep 1953): 217-224. The Guest House of Kōjōin was said to be originally established by Yamaoka Kagekoto 山岡景友, who was a monk and also gave allegiance to Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 as a general during the Muromachi Period. The Property was later confiscated by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. The design of the replica has slightly adjusted the original, which added a toilet and a kitchen, with the aim of providing a Japanese source to the contemporary American house design.



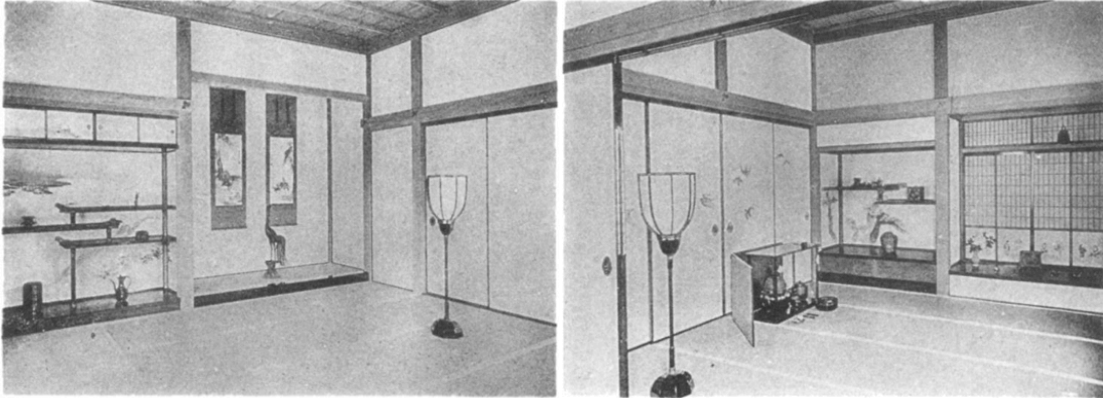


Fig. 3-2 Library and tea room in right wing of Hōō-den, Chicago Columbian Exposition, 1883. Clay Lancaster, "Japanese buildings in the United States before 1900," 220-221, fig. 11.

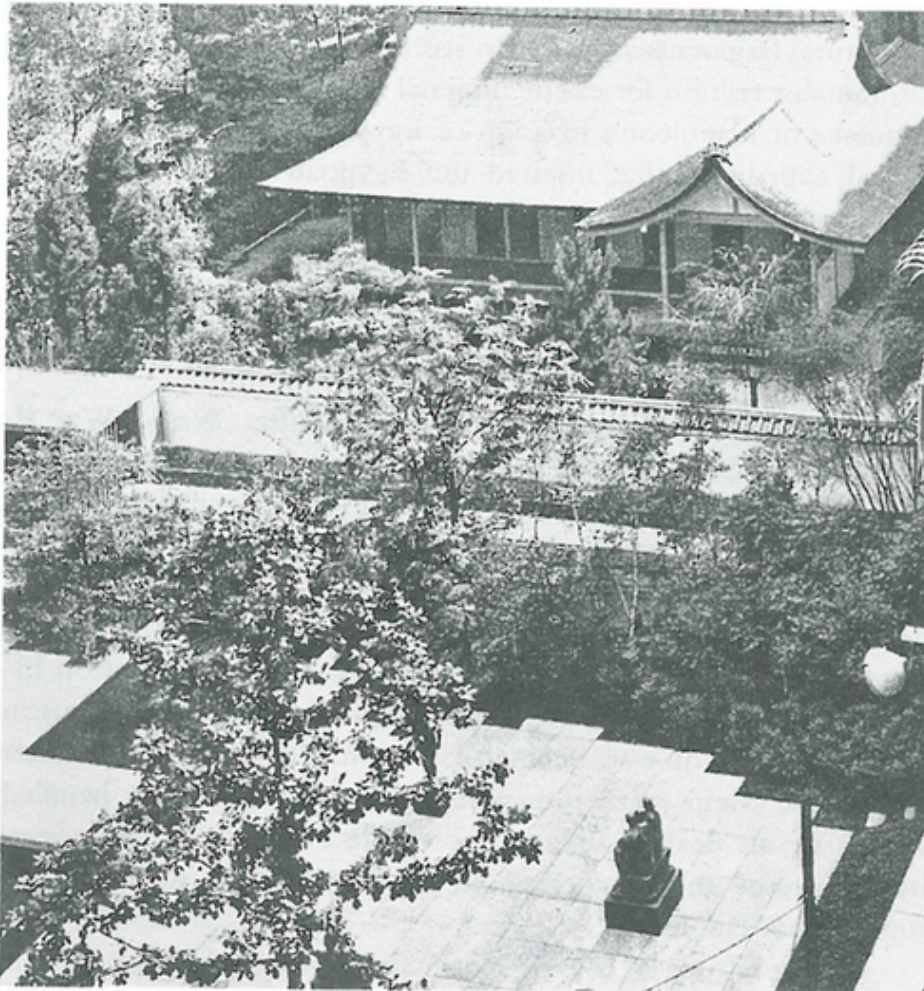


Fig. 3-3 Modified replica of the Guest Hall of Kōjōin, "the Japanese house," at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1954. Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 34, fig. 3.1.

With Taut's affirmation, modern architects soon won their debate with *teikan* style protestors. By the 1940s at the latest, *teikan* style works had become rarer. The issue of "Japanese-ness" in architecture became an internal one in which modernist and Japanese expression were simultaneously considered in architectural design. The major problem no longer existed as to whether Japan should be cautious of the influences of modernism from the Western world, but rather how to embrace modernism and at the same time not lose the essence of Japanese architecture. As Isozaki remarked: "In 1942, a broad range of prominent intellectuals -- philosophers, writers, critic, historians, aestheticians, and scientists -- gathered at a symposium whose theme was 'overcoming modernity.' The discussion has repeatedly been referred to at all sorts of critical junctures ever since. In the symposium, where architects were absent, participants simply either praised or rejected the modern vis-à-vis a Japanese aesthetic or ethos. In contrast, architects at least came to see modernity and tradition as two sides of a single issue."<sup>163</sup> From then on, Japan passed the first phase of the discussion around the issue of Japanese-ness, which was characterized by the domestic competition between *teikan* style and modernist architecture, and officially entered the second phase of seeking Japanese-ness in architecture.

#### Tange Kenzō's Changing Criticisms of Katsura

Tange Kenzō (1913-2005) began his career at the Department of Architecture at Tokyo University in 1935. Although he never studied abroad, he was deeply influenced by Le Corbusier's works. He was one of the very influential postwar architects in Japan who

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<sup>163</sup> Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 21.

influenced a group of great architects such as Kurokawa Kisho 黒川紀章, Isozaki Arata, and Maki Fumihiko 槇文彦. In 1983, Tange was awarded the Pritzker Prize. What brought Tange and Katsura first together was his proposal in 1950 which won the design competition for Hiroshima Genbaku Kinen Kōen (Atomic Bomb Memorial Park, Hiroshima) (fig. 3-4 top). This proposal claimed to be based on the design of the *shoin* complex of Katsura and was later realized as the first large-scale, post-war public architectural project in Japan. Tange had won two other competitions before this monument was built. Although they were never realized, each of the designs was modeled after a national treasure that had been praised by Taut. Daitōa Kinen Eizōbutsu, 1942 (Greater East Asia Memorial Building), was based on the design of Ise Jingū; Japan Cultural Center, Bangkok, 1943, was based on the design of the Imperial Palace in Kyoto (fig. 3-4 center and bottom).<sup>164</sup>



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<sup>164</sup> Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 17.

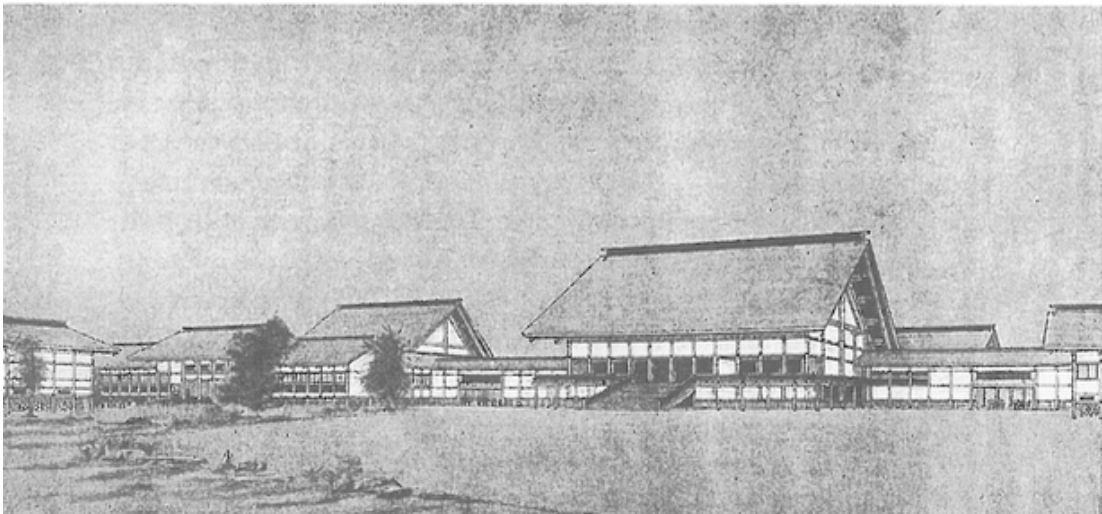
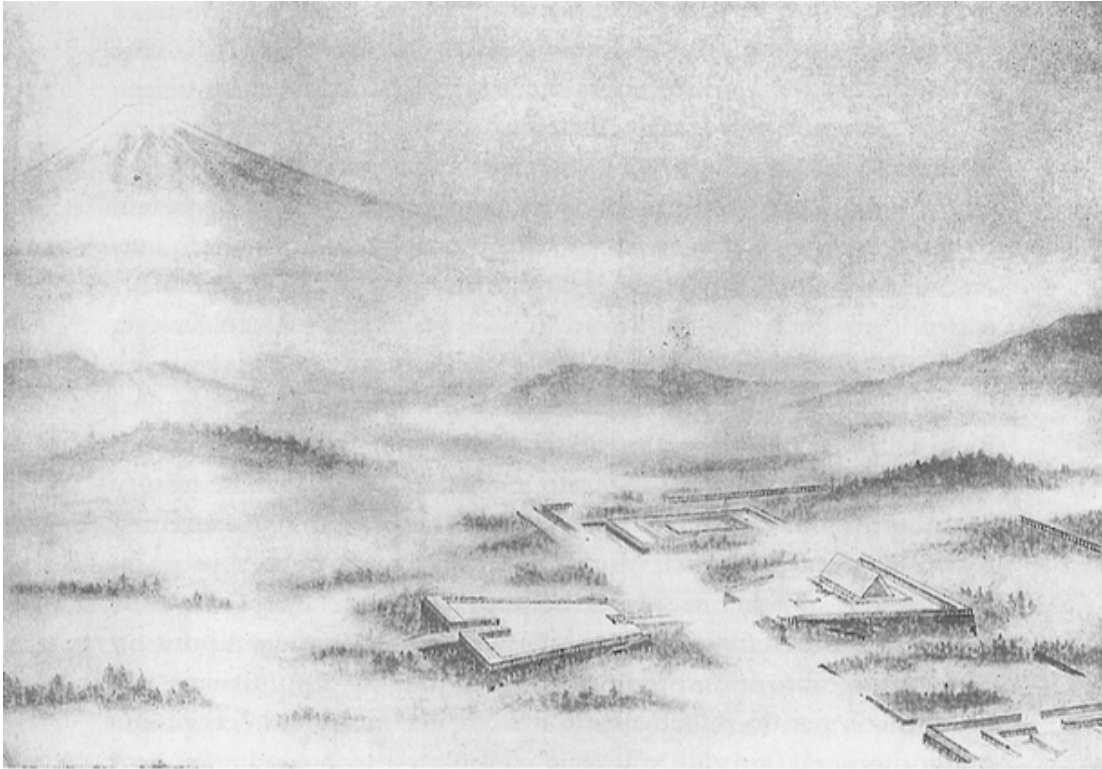


Fig. 3-4 Atomic Bomb Memorial Park, 1950 (top); Daitōa Kinen Eizōbutsu [Greater East Asia Memorial Building competition], 1942, unbuilt (center), *Kenchiku Zasshi* [Architecture Journal]. (Sep 1942); Japan Cultural Center competition in Bangkok, unbuilt, 1944 (bottom). *Kenchiku Zasshi* [Architecture Journal]. (Jan 1944).

Unlike the former two unbuilt projects, in the design of Atomic Bomb Memorial Park, Tange eliminated the pitched roof of traditional Japanese architecture and employed a flat roof. Isozaki commented that “it would be difficult to claim a lineage other than the international style for the architectural language developed by Tange at Hiroshima.” Indeed, in this project, the pilotis, the flat roof, the flowing space, the exposed structure, and the transparency are all fully deployed. If anyone like Maekawa Kunio 前川國男 (1905-1986) could comment that the design of the two former unbuilt projects based on the models of national treasures “proved the architect’s shrewdness,” it was because it seemed to be too safe just to follow Taut’s appreciation and to flatter the Japanese authorities. The Hiroshima project disproved this point strongly by a realized project devoid of the most symbolic element of the *Tennō*’s authority and traditional architecture, the giant roof, which was also the focus of the debate in the former phase. Only this time, the context was changed to postwar Japan Hiroshima, the very locale of the disaster partially initiated by the national goal of expansion under *Tennō*’s ruling. The flat roof, rather than a pitched one, seems to be the right choice to express a calm reflection of the war and the disaster. But one can never know whether such a design was simply a representation of Tange’s interests in the international style. If this project had any connection to Katsura, it should be the column ratios which were based on those of Katsura. Therefore, the reason this project was considered both a modernist and a Japanese work should be further elaborated here.

The international style, first defined by the Americans Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson in 1932, was itself a notion generated in America with the emphasis on architectural style and form, in contrast to the social aspects emphasized in the modern movement in Europe. As an architectural style, its visual resemblance with the *shoin* complex of Katsura is undeniable. Such visual resemblance was probably also one of the reasons Taut was so moved when he first visited Katsura in 1933. In other words, the pre-existing resemblance of the international style to the *shoin* style of Katsura make the Hiroshima project both modernist and Japanese. At least the former four of the five characteristics of international style can be found in Katsura: a) rectilinear forms; b) light, taut plane surfaces that have been completely stripped of applied ornamentation and decoration; c) open interior spaces; d) a visually weightless quality engendered by the use of cantilever construction; e) glass and steel, in combination with usually less visible reinforced concrete.<sup>165</sup> Previously, Taut's interpretation of Katsura was also from a rationalist and functionalist point of view backed up by the emphasis on visual composition inherited from the Western architectural tradition. As Isozaki once commented, "to interpret the imperial villa as architecturally gratifying, he had to say that Katsura's architectural essence lay in the visual pleasure it confers; and such a stance flows from classicist notions of proportion and harmony, namely, the beauty of composition. This inherited aesthetic criterion still underlay modern Western architecture in the works of international style."

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<sup>165</sup> Museum of Modern Art, Modern Architecture: International Exhibition. (New York, Feb 10 to Mar 23, 1932).

However, the awkward dilemma is, on the one hand, that Taut celebrated the visual beauty of Katsura, which to a certain degree has legitimized Tange's operation of reinterpreting the Katsura model as international style architecture; on the other hand, Taut himself had rejected the idea of "style" that can be identified as its architect's hand, or typical of a period in *Die neue Baukunst in Europa und Amerika*, written in 1929.<sup>166</sup> As much as Taut saw Katsura as marvelously embodying and strengthening the architectural ideas he had put forward before his visit, his thinking on the notion of style must have been greatly adjusted by his experience in Katsura, commented Manfred Speidel.<sup>167</sup> Although Isozaki believed Taut's emphasis on the visual beauty of Katsura was quasi-political -- Katsura is an imperial property and Taut by then was eager to find a job as an architectural consultant in Japan -- I tend to believe that Taut found the answer in Katsura to a question that had lingered in his mind but had not yet clearly resolved before this visit.

The question sits between an identifiable, unified style, and the path through which the functional, useful elements reach the spiritual. However, in the Western tradition, there has never been a single building type that could simultaneously meet the needs of everyday life and that of spiritual life. If form follows function, different functions should produce different forms. Rather than saying that Taut was shocked by the visual beauty of Katsura, it seems more appropriate to say he had experienced a cultural shock. For him,

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<sup>166</sup> Bruno Taut, *Die neue Baukunst in Europa und Amerika: mit 303 Abbildungen und 80 Grundrissen* (Stuttgart: J. Hoffman, 1929).

<sup>167</sup> Isozaki: "His thinking on the notion of style must have been greatly adjusted by his experience in Katsura."

it must have been difficult to process the fact that an identical style, here the *shoin* style, could simultaneously accommodate the useful and the spiritual. “Would we have the strength to live here today? Spiritual Strength -- this is architecture,” sighed Taut in his diary. What has shocked him is how people live and the how all the architectural elements including the garden could neatly fit with the refined lifestyle, rather than merely the visual beauty of an architectural form. It seems that Taut would have had a chance to speak for the “performative” trait of Japanese architecture which was officially proposed later by the Japanese architectural critic Hamaguchi Ryuichi 浜口隆一.<sup>168</sup> But it is neither Taut’s responsibility nor his intention to discover the essence of Japanese-ness and tell the cultural differences between Japan and the West. He was only trying to answer the question for himself from the point of view of a modern architect who had so far designed mostly the working-class housing projects in Berlin: where did the spiritual part go when it came to modern architecture? Will modern architecture fall into merely a repertoire of forms? Taut must have found his answers in the *shoin* style of Katsura: an identifiable, unified style that can simultaneously contain the useful and the spiritual. Unfortunately, unless he can change the life style of the working class for whom he had mostly designed, his answer was not so convenient for modern architects to pick up and realize in their practices, including Tange.

In the Hiroshima project, in which competition Tange’s teacher Kishida Hideto 岸田日出刀 (1899-1965) served as a juror, Tange seemed have honestly followed his teachers’

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<sup>168</sup> Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 23-25.



direction -- searching for Japanese-ness in “composition,” which is a notion about which Kishida had substantial research and a vision-initiated idea that had effectively bridged Katsura and international style.<sup>169</sup> By far, his reinterpretation of Katsura in the Hiroshima project had not surpassed Taut’s, or even shown a certain degree of regressing. It is also part of the reason that not long before, Tange completely reversed his discourse on Katsura. That was when the international style was involved into another round of debate of which the focus was between “Yayoi” 彌生 and “Jōmon” 縄文.

Yayoi and Jōmon are the names of two periods of ancient Japan respectively dated 300 BC-300 AD and c. 14000-300BCE. The opposition of Yayoi and Jōmon in the field of architecture was first proposed in the mid-1950s by the painter Okamoto Taro 岡本太郎 (1911-1996), who had been exposed to European modernism and returned to Japan in 1940. Inspired by the inherent schism between abstract and concrete, he sought to rediscover the beauty of Japan from ancient sources and was awakened to the beauty of ancient earthenware of the Jōmon era. His finding stood out from the sophisticated sense of the beauty of *terracotta haniwa* figures from the Yayoi period, which was earlier appreciated in response to the so-called “Japonica” in the U.S.<sup>170</sup> Differences between the Yayoiesque aesthetic and Jōmonesque aesthetic are briefly shown below (table. 3-1).

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<sup>169</sup> Kishida Hideto has published a collection of architectural photographs *Kako no Kōsei* 過去の構成 [Composition of the past] (Tōkyō: Sagami Shobō) in 1929. Isozaki has commented, “it was a pioneering work praised in the photographic field as ‘Japanese beauty of composition.’” See Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 15.

<sup>170</sup> “Japonica” in general stands for the obsession with Japanese souvenirs in lieu of trophies of war, which brought back the memories of having been stationed there as military personnel. See Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 33.

Yayoiesque

*Terracotta haniwa* figures from the Yayoi period

Sophisticated, mature, calm, stereotyped

Aristocrats

Haniwa figures

Jōmonesque

Earthenware from the Jōmon period

Naïve, immature, passionate, energetic, ever-renewed

Common people

Earthenware from the Jōmon period

Table. 3-1 The Yayoiesque-Jōmonesque opposition

During roughly the same time, Tange shifted his architectural aesthetic from Yayoiesque to Jōmonesque, exemplified by the changes from the Hiroshima project to the Municipal Building of Kurashiki City (fig. 3-5). The latter was designed in 1958, and its construction was finished in 1960. In Tange's essay "Tradition and creation in Japanese architecture," published in 1960, he depicted Katsura, this imperial property -- the sophisticated, aristocratic, Yayoiesque masterpiece as the opposite -- the populist, Jōmonesque.<sup>171</sup>



Fig. 3-5 The Municipal Building of Kurashiki City (1958), designed by Tange Kenzō.

<sup>171</sup> Tange Kenzō, "Tradition and creation in Japanese architecture," in *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture*, ed. Tange Kenzō, Ishimoto Yasuhiro (Yale University Press, 1960), 35.

“The shoin of Katsura palace belongs fundamentally to the aristocratic Yayoi tradition as it developed from the *shinden-zukuri* to the *shoin-zukuri* style. Accordingly, the building is dominated by the principles of aesthetic balance and continuous sequence of patterns in space. And yet there is something which prevents it from becoming a mere formal exercise and gives its space a lively movement and a free harmony. This something is the naïve vitality and ever-renewed potentiality of the Jōmon tradition of the common people.

The Jōmon element is strong in the rock formations and the teahouses of the garden. There, however, the aesthetic canons of the Yayoi tradition act as a sobering force which prevents the dynamic flow, the not-quite-formed forms, the dissonance, from becoming chaotic.

At Katsura, then, the dialectic of tradition and creation is realized.

It was in the period when the Katsura Palace was built that the two traditions, Jōmon and Yayoi, first actually collided. When they did, the cultural formalism of the upper class and the vital energy of the lower class met. From their dynamic union emerged the creativeness seen in Katsura -- a dialectic resolution of tradition and anti-tradition.”

However, when we now review Tange’s reevaluation of Katsura, it is more like an interpretative afterthought, or a declaration for a choice of aesthetics that has already been made, which possibly had come from Tange’s fondness of Le Corbusier’s works. It may not be only a coincidence that before Tange’s Kurashiki project, Le Corbusier’s work started to show a similar shift from the neat and calm modernism toward a more “Jomōneque” expression on the material. The rough form-finished concrete without the coating of cement can all be found in Le Corbusier’s works in India from the mid-1950s.<sup>172</sup> It may not be only a coincidence that Tange’s Kurashiki project shows a certain

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<sup>172</sup> Such projects include:

visual resemblance to Le Corbusier's Sainte Marie de La Tourette (1957) either (fig. 3-6).<sup>173</sup> Also, if tracing the aristocratic origin of the *shoin-zukuri* meant to link it to the Yayoi tradition, there is no excuse to ignore the fact that the *shoin-zukuri* has developed mostly under the sponsorship of the warrior class, of which people have lived a simpler and more austere life style than the Heian aristocrats. The warrior class sponsorship of the *shoin* style, rather than the aristocrat origin, should be the source of the Yayoiesque aesthetic of Katsura.<sup>174</sup> Therefore, Katsura seemed once again have been used as a tool to justify an already-made aesthetic decision for architects' practices, just as it had been used before in the 1930s by the modernist architects in the debate with the advocates of the *teikan* style. The only difference is, this time, the choice was made within the field of modernist architecture.

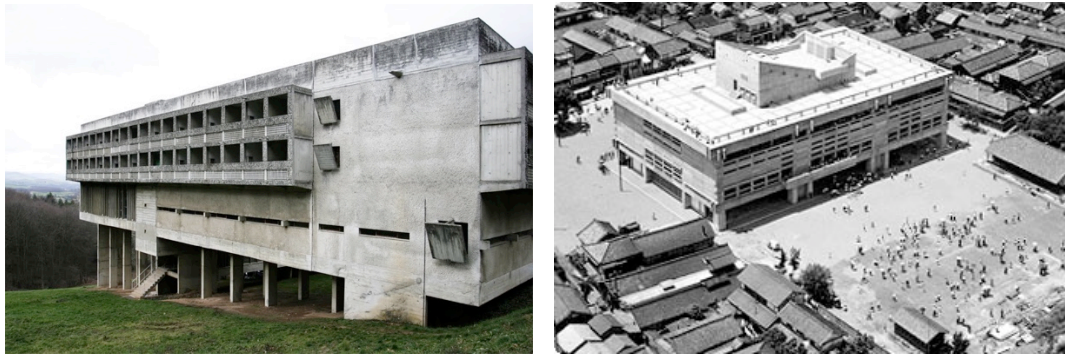


Fig. 3-6 Sainte Marie de La Tourette (1957, left) and Kurashiki Project (1958, right).

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The High Court of Justice, Chandigarh (1951–1956); Secretariat Building, Chandigarh (1952–1958); Palace of Assembly (Chandigarh) (1952–1961).

<sup>173</sup> Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 39.

<sup>174</sup> The contrast in between the Jōmoneque and the Yayoieque has even extended beyond the realm of architectural design to the study of architectural history. The positivist historian Ōta Hirotarō 太田博太郎 (1912–2007), who in his book *Zusetsu Nihon Jutaku-shi* 圖説日本住宅史 [Illustrated history of Japanese housing] (1948) explained the genealogy of dwelling types from pit dwelling to platform house as the product of an overlapping history of class consolidation. See Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 40. In the same book, a clear contrast is made between the warrior-sponsored *shoin-zukuri* developed in the Kamakura Period and the aristocrats-sponsored *shinden-zukuri* developed in the Heian period. See Ōta, Hirotarō. *Zusetsu Nihon Jutaku-shi* 圖説日本住宅史 [Illustrated history of Japanese housing]. Tokyo Shōkokusha, 1971.

In Tange's criticisms of Katsura, the calm, aristocratic Yayoi tradition was mostly found in the formal exercise in the *shoin* compound, whereas the lively movement of the Jōmon tradition was mostly seen in the rock formations and tea houses of the garden. This understanding was reinforced by his selections of the photographer Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 石元泰博 (1921-2012) images of Katsura for the same book. As Isozaki pointed out, Ishimoto's photos "were based on authentic modernist-oriented camera work that violently decomposed and recomposed objects in accordance with its own logic," a logic by which sheer composition was abstracted, surfaces that define architectural space were the focuses, and the large curved roof planes, tree trained into picturesque shapes, and detailed, Japanese style decoration were intentionally eliminated."<sup>175</sup>

However, it seems impossible that Tange's separated reading of the contrasting natures of the building complex and the garden elements could have directly benefited himself in his practice, which by then were mostly large-scale public building designs in which landscape elements were usually in the subordinate positions. His reinterpretation of Katsura and the incoherency in his practices could hardly benefit other architects either, no matter from the theoretical or the practical level. His reading of the *shoin*-complex of Katsura remained as a formal analysis; his reading of the origin of the *shoin-zukuri* was merely political, not to mention that the real sponsorship of the *shoin* style was wrongly attributed. His practice that focused on large-scale buildings still followed the visual tradition of the West; his searching for the "Japanese-ness" is Western culture-based and

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<sup>175</sup> Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 35-38.

practice-oriented, although that did not harm even a little of him having produced a great number of masterpieces which have profoundly influenced many Japanese architects. However, the bright side of actively responding to the changing political environment and the Western tradition is the visual power in Tange's works, which were rarely seen in the history of Japanese architecture except for the religious monuments that bear continental origins, such as the Buddhist halls and towers (fig. 3-8). Ironically enough, these great works by him can hardly be related to Katsura.



Fig. 3-7 Tange Kenzō, Kagawa Prefectural Government Hall, finished in 1958 (left), and the South Gate of Tōdai-ji 東大寺南大門.

From the moment Katsura was selected by the advocates of modern architecture to be “rediscovered by Taut,” political factors have never left the discussions around Katsura. There were occasions when an architect had to regret his former interpretation as history moved on and his thinking about the same site, Katsura, had to change -- once a model had been established, it was always better amending the criticisms than totally upsetting the model. In other words, the changes in the discussions about Katsura may have been inevitable, because it was the specific site instead of the architectural style it stood for

that had been selected and promoted as the model at the very beginning. All collateral traits the specific site bears, no matter architectural or political, will automatically come into the discussion, which is one of the consequences of utilizing contemporary political conditions. Picking one single, real example as a model, instead of creating an ideal one, means to fully accept every aspect of it.

In the 1950s discussions about Yayoi and Jōmon, Tange's discussions about Katsura easily turned against his previous interpretation. Although this shift did not harm his uncompetitive contributions to Japanese modernist architecture -- his personal talent of architectural expression made his position as one of the most important figures in the history of Japanese modern architecture unshakable, no matter what model he was following. However, one may still regret and cannot help imagine how many more great works he would have produced if a consistent thinking had been built up on a steady base. Isozaki, who worked in Tange's firm for over ten years, may also have had such regrets although he did not express it explicitly. Such regrets can be found in the criticisms of Tange's discussions about other Japanese monuments. "His loyalties were split," commented Isozaki on Tange's pendulous attitude toward Ise Jingu and the extended issue of the relationship between architecture and nature.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 56.

The “Japanese-ness” Found in the Shoin Style Buildings by Horiguchi Sutemi 堀口捨己

Among the pioneer architects who have enthusiastically embraced European modernism in the debate with *teikan* style advocates, Horiguchi Sutemi was one of those who managed to keep himself and his discussions of architecture a certain distance from political factors.

An early project by Horiguchi, the Shien-sō in Saitama prefecture, built in 1926 shows a straightforward combination of modern design with the Japanese tea house (fig. 3-8).

Some elements of the “native” Japanese styles including the *sōan* 草庵 (thatched cottage style) and the *wayō* 和様 (Japanese style) in contrast to the Buddhist styles which had directly been imported from the continent were clearly expressed in this project.<sup>177</sup>

Operations including direct exposure of materials, overall simplicity created by eliminating decorative details, orthogonal composition with movable partition walls, and lightness, which are all aimed at visual beauty, have been emphasized. As an architect whose projects are mostly houses of individual clients, Horiguchi showed us a clear clue how his concurrent research on traditional Japanese houses and related subjects including *sukiya* style 数寄屋, the relationship between house and garden, the origin of the tea house, and *shoin* style buildings, had coherently been the source of the theoretical thinking supporting his architectural practices.<sup>178</sup> He delved into the archives and texts,

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<sup>177</sup> Rather than an indigenous Japanese style, *wayō* is in fact originated from the imported style of an earlier period. Through being digested and internalized, the imported style later became a “native style.” When the next round of importation from the continent came into Japan, a contrast between this internalized “native” style and the newly imported style was formed. The “native style” from the former period thus was considered the “Japanese style,” *wayō*.

<sup>178</sup> His early research on traditional Japanese architecture include:



which made his research on historic architecture no less concrete than that of many positivist historians. As a matter of fact, he was the first scholar to investigate the field of the traditional Japanese house. His research has also been followed by many positivist historians.



Fig. 3-8 Shien-sō (House of Purple Haze) By Horiguchi Sutemi, 1926. Demolished. Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 11, fig. 1.3.

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Horiguchi, Suteimi 堀口捨己. “Chashitsu no shisō teki haikai to shikōsei.” 茶室の思想的背景と其構成 [Background and structure of the idea of tea house] in *Kenchiku Yōshiki Ronsō* 建築様式論叢 [Discussions on architectural styles] ed. Itagaki Takao, Horiguchi Sutemi (Tōkyō: Rokumonkan, 1932);  
 ---. “Kundaikan Sochōki no kenchiku teki kenkyū: Muromachi jidai no shōin sojite chashitsu kō.” 君台觀左右帳記の建築的研究——室町時代の書院及茶室考 [The study of the architectures of Kundaikan Sochōki: the shoin and the tea house of Muromachi Period]. *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 美術研究 [The journal of art studies] 122, (Feb 1942): 1-21.  
 ---. “Rakuchū Rakugai Byōbu no kenchiku teki kenkyū.” 洛中洛外屏風の建築的研究 [The study of the architecture on the Screen of Inside and Outside the Capital]. *Garon* 画論 [Painting theories] (1943)  
 ---. *Rikyū no Chashitsu* 利休の茶室 [Teahouse of Rikyū]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1949.  
 ---. *Katsura Rikyū* 桂離宮 [The Katsura Imperial Villa]. Tōkyō: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1952. Overseas Edition, 1953.

Paralleled with Horiguchi's searching for the "Japanese-ness" from Japanese traditional houses, a pair of contrasting notions, "the performative and the spatial" trait in Japanese architecture, and "the constructive and the objective" trait in Western tradition, was first proposed by the architectural and artistic critic Hamaguchi Ryūichi 浜口隆一 in his article "Nihon kokumin kenchiku yōshiki-no mondai" 日本國民建築様式の問題 [The problem of style in Japan's national architecture] (1944).<sup>179</sup> From then on, another direction other than the visual and compositional analysis was clearly pointed out for the seeking of the "Japanese-ness" among Japanese modernist architects.

Horiguchi believed that if one simply follows the materials, techniques and general lifestyle of the age, he will attain a style. He rejected any pure compositional, objective, and visual analysis of architecture that led to a stylistic description without the discussion of the material, techniques, and lifestyle of the age. Therefore, he concentrated on reconstructing an imaginative model of historical architecture through two dimensions -- the performative and the spatial. He picked the tea house first, or more precisely, the tea ceremony in a tea house, if the performative and spatial perspectives were meant to be emphasized. A series of projects of private houses may have led him to first target the residential types from the tradition, but we could imagine even if it was the large-scale projects that have first come to him, he might still walk an entirely different path from Tange's. In research on *wayō* style religious buildings, textual records that could provide

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<sup>179</sup> Hamaguchi Ryūichi, "Nihon kokumin kenchiku yōshiki-no mondai," 日本國民建築様式の問題 [The problem of style in Japan's national architecture] *Shin Kenchiku* 新建築 [New architecture] (Oct 1944).

enough information to reconstruct the relationship between the ritual, ceremony, and human behavior are not sparse. In fact, the extant physical examples from the early period are abundant, much more than the residential buildings. However, the performative and spatial aspects of *wayō* treasures cannot differentiate themselves from the imported Buddhist styles. Rituals performed in the religious spaces, especially when they first came to Japan, were essentially the same as on the continent. But the Japanese life style that fits the Japanese residential building types should have been imported at an earlier period from the continent, if parts of them was imported, and have long been internalized.<sup>180</sup> Therefore, when Horiguchi first started his discussion of “Japanese-ness” in architecture from the perspective of the performative and the spatial, the *shoin* style, which is the basis of *sukiya* style, the *sōan* style, and the nowadays traditional Japanese house, was the perfect building type for his choices. If Horiguchi was commissioned large-scale public building projects like Tange, he might not have become the first scholar who found the unique performative value of Japanese space. Isozaki highly credited Horiguchi’s contribution to modern Japanese architecture:

“Horiguchi’s research constitutes a unique and path breaking contribution to modern Japanese architectural scholarship.... His work totally omits concerns of architectural style and it successfully extracts the essence of teahouse space -- which even Okakura’s *Book of Tea* did not grasp.... He managed to frame and contextualize Japan in a new way.”<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> The floor-sitting habit and the building with the lifted plank floor originally came from southern China, where paddy fields are broadly distributed. See Koizumi Kazuko 小泉和子. *Traditional Japanese Furniture*. Tokyo; New York: Kodansha International, 1995.

<sup>181</sup> Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, 28.

Horiguchi's focus on the performative perspective made his choice of model for the modern Japanese house the *shoin* style building. On the other hand, it should be the same perspective that made Ise Jingu the model of modern Japanese monuments. But Horiguchi "is no doubt seeking a way to detach Ise from the power of the Parthenon's materiality. He had by this time come to believe the intuitive sympathy for the power of nature went beyond the mere constructivism of Western architecture. Such an appreciation entailed a shift of focus from the buildings themselves to the larger environment -- namely, the *shin-iki* (the sacred atmosphere)." <sup>182</sup> Indeed, built within a thousand-year-old forest and surrounded by a sacred hedge and the imperial fence, Ise Jingu could only be viewed after walking through the woods. The journey of worship starts long before the small timber building appears in front of one's eyes. It is the performative dimension which requires the engagement of the environment of the building that a unique Japanese "monumentality" is achieved.

When Tange started to discuss the garden element of Katsura in the debate about the Jōmoneue and the Yayoieue, he immediately caught the keyword, the "environment." But his interpretation remained the visual dimension, which is also what he excelled at in his design. The "balance" he thought the *shoin* complex building and the garden elements achieve is based on a visual impression at a frozen moment which excluded the viewer's body and activities to be engaged in the performative dimension of the building. <sup>183</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid, 49.

<sup>183</sup> Tange Kenzō 丹下健三, and Ishimoto Yasuhiro 石元泰博. *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture*. Yale University Press, 1960.

Horiguchi also wrote a book on Katsura, published eight years before Tange's in 1952, in which he sharply pointed out that "after people's eyes became accustomed to the beauty of asymmetrical construction and discarded the old style wall architecture and became thoroughly familiar with the structural freshness of steel-bone reinforced concrete buildings and then looked at these buildings at Katsura, they were struck by their beauty for the first time."<sup>184</sup> In the two articles written in English at the beginning of this book, it seems Horiguchi was trying to respond to Taut's opinion of Katsura twenty-two years earlier about mainly two issues. One is the composition of the building; the other is the true architect of Katsura. Regarding the first one, how has the present-day visual appearance of Katsura that one can receive through a one-time visit had been produced through time? Regarding the second, was there a single architect who designed Katsura? Was it Enshū? By delving into historical records, Horiguchi answered these questions with concrete evidence. If one has read these two articles of Horiguchi, it is not difficult to figure out that they were, in fact, the major sources of Isozaki's chapter "Katsura: the diagonal strategy" in his book *Katsura: Imperial Villa* (1983).

In this comprehensive book about Katsura, Taut's diaries, Tange's and Gropius's articles, and an article about Taut and Katsura were collected and republished. When this book was first planned, Isozaki may have had the intention of collecting all the hitherto seen discussions about Katsura by modern architects, Western and Japanese. Horiguchi's article about the author and the date of Katsura, originally published in 1953, may have been categorized into the positivist research and thus was not included in full-text. In

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<sup>184</sup> Horiguchi, *Katsura Rikyū*, 1953, 7.

Isozaki's book *Japan-ness in Architecture*, published in 2006, he further spends a whole chapter dedicated to Katsura, which was also developed from the old chapter originally inspired by Horiguchi. I believe by the time Tange published *Katsura* in 1960 together with Gropius's article and Yasuhiro Ishimoto's photographs he had also read Horiguchi's book. Similar tones or even the exact words could be read between the lines.<sup>185</sup>

"In trying to provide a place for living as the central idea, an opportunity presented itself to harmonize one thing with another, thus producing architectural styles known as *shoin-zukuri* and *sukiya-zukuri* out of the *shinden-zukuri*. By the combined work of a good head and clear thinking, all have been harmonized into something beautiful and complete. Every detail of the building, every part of the garden is a manifestation of this wonderful harmony, giving us the feeling of consummate art."

In Isozaki's book published in 2006, the section "The authorship of Katsura: a diagonal line" was also based on Horiguchi's observation of the diagonal layout of the *shoin* complex and the article "Who were the architects and gardeners?"<sup>186</sup>

"The plan of the building is conspicuous for having one section receding and expanding behind another in a step-wise fashion. No one would ever think of finding such a plan in the *shinden-zukuri* style of architecture of the time of the 'Tale of Genji'...."

It seems that in the book published in 1952, Horiguchi had no intention of expressing his understanding of "Japanese-ness" through the Katsura model. His research of Katsura is not from the perspective of an architect but rather as a positivist historian. However, it does not mean he did not bear the issue of "Japanese-ness" in mind. In reality, as early as in the 1930s, he had already realized that "Japanese-ness" may lay in residential buildings,

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<sup>185</sup> Horiguchi, *Katsura Rikyū*, 1953, 5.

<sup>186</sup> Isozaki and Ponciroli, *Katsura*, 30-39. See also Horiguchi, *Katsura Rikyū*, 4; 5-7.

the building types that could provide the suitable spaces for the life style of the nation. However, his contribution is not only in his pioneering awareness and discovery of the “Japanese-ness” from the residential buildings, but also that he founded the field of the history of traditional dwellings, which is unique among countries of East Asia. According to Fujii Keisuke 藤井恵介, the study of the history of traditional dwelling occupies at least one-third of the entity of Japanese architectural history. In contrast, even today, China does not have a similar field. Research about the Chinese house is dependent on research about the Chinese garden, which is a critical part of the living environment and therefore should have branched from the field of the Chinese house. The reasons for the different situations and the diverse paths China and Japan have gone through in the study of historical architecture will be explored below.

### *Residential Building as the Connection to the Historical Study and Modernist*

#### *Architectural Design*

The 20<sup>th</sup> year of the Meiji period (1892) in which Ito Chōta 伊東忠太 published *Hōryūji Kenchikuron* 法隆寺建築論 [On the architecture of Horyū-ji] was the starting point of the study of Japanese architectural history. From 1892 to the end of World War II, Japan finished the survey of extant historical buildings. During this period, studies centered on the stylistic study of physical remains; renovation techniques were also developed.<sup>187</sup> As

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<sup>187</sup> The general methods of renovating traditional architecture were gradually established upon the event of the Shōwa Reassembling Repair of Horyū-ji, which was started from 1934. Fujii Keisuke, “Huigu yu zhanwang: riben jianzhu shixue de fazhan,” 回顧與展望: 日本建築史學的發展 [Retrospect and prospect: the development of the study of Japanese architectural history] Translated by Li Hui 李暉, in *Zhongguo*

Fujii Keisuke pointed out in the Chinese article “Huigu yu Zhanwang: Riben Jianzhushixue de Fazhan,” 回顧與展望——日本建築史學的發展 [Retrospect and prospect—the development of the study of Japanese architectural history], Bruno Taut’s visit to Katsura in 1933 and his high evaluation of Japanese traditional architecture not only marked a new phase for the development of modern architecture in Japan, but also provided a new direction for research on architectural history. From then on, key issues such as structure, function, and space, the key terms of modern architectural theories, also became the focuses in the writings of Japanese architectural history.

The architectural historian Ōta Hirotarō, who graduated from Tokyo University in 1935, in his thesis on the Zen style 禪宗樣 and Daibutsu style 大佛樣 architecture, pointed out that the examples of Daibutsu style such as the Great South Gate of the Tōdai-ji, and the Jōdo Hall of the Jōdo-ji 淨土寺淨土堂 have concise structural systems and thus could be considered the buds of modernism in Japan. Such an understanding shows that his thinking about historical architecture was from the perspective of the “structure” and the “function.” The same methods have persistently been applied in his book *Nihon Kenchikushi Josetsu* 日本建築史序說 [The first draft of the history of Japanese architecture] which was later published in 1947. This book has exerted significant influence upon postwar research on Japanese architectural history. In other words, the history of Japanese architecture was from then on mainly perceived and written as a history of the development of the structure and function of architecture. In contrast,

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*Jianzhu Shilun Huikan* 中國建築史論彙刊 [Bulletin of Chinese architectural history], ed. Wang Guixiang 王貴祥 (Beijing: Qinghua Daxue Chubanshe, 2015), 7.



progress on the research of the decorative aspect and the spiritual expressions of architecture have been considerably delayed. As mentioned before, Ōta had also actively been engaged in the discussion about the dyad of the Jōmoneque and the Yayoiesque. He believed that the changes of the sponsors' class are the main causes of the changes in architectural styles.

After Ōta, Inoue Mitsuo 井上充夫 wrote an overall history of Japanese architecture under the title *Nihon Kenchiku no Kūkan* 日本建築の空間 [Space in Japanese architecture] in 1969 which centered on the theme of “space.” He borrowed the concept of “space” from European modern architectural theory and developed his writing into a history of the spatial development of Japanese architecture. This book is of great significance to many architectural historians of that generation including Fujii Keisuke.

From 1975 and on, the ceremonial activities held in the interior spaces of architecture started to attract scholarly attention. The motive was to understand space from the functionalist point of view in more detail. The searching and the scrutinizing of the historical records about ceremonies were thereby inaugurated. The initial aim was to enhance the degree of precision of Ōta and Inoue's research, the first of which focused on the structure and the function, and the second on the space, and to relate these two groups of works. Going on this path, many scholars have achieved high degrees of precision in their research. Likawa Kōichi 飯川康一 and Kawamoto Shigeo 川本重雄 placed their attention on the history of residential buildings of the Heian period; Yamagishi Tsuneto

山岸常人, Kuroda Ryuji 黒田龍二, and Fujii Keisuke focused on temples and the shrines of the Heian and Kamakura periods, and made efforts to understand the coherent and unified aspects of performance of religious ceremonies and spaces of the buildings.<sup>188</sup>

One of the special features of the study of Japanese architecture is the interweaving relationship between architects and the architectural historians. While the searching for the “Japanese-ness” requires architects to constantly refer to and adjust their discussions on traditional monuments, historians adjust their methods of the study of historical architectures along with the modern architects’ concerns and inquiries. Sometimes, the boundary between the status of architects and that of the historians is very ambiguous. In this interweaving relationship, the subject of residential architecture has effectively locked the two parties together. Katsura and the *shoin* style it exemplifies could be furthermore considered the key to that lock.

Horiguchi’s research on *shoin* style buildings was initiated by seeking “Japanese-ness” in architectural practice as an architect, but on the evidential level, he managed to achieve the equivalent depth of the positivist historians. On the other hand, core issues of modern architecture have instantly been caught up by historians and reflected in their studies. If Ōta’s research was taking function and structure, and Inoue’s was taking space as the key issue, the next generation of historians who have contributed to the correlations of the

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<sup>188</sup> Fujii, “Huigu yu zhanwang,” 12-14.

spaces and the ceremonies held in the spaces, has successfully combined the issues of function, structure, and space -- how certain functions are realized and performed in a specific space provided by a specific structure. They not only have gone farther in the degree of precision of the study but also have echoed Horiguchi's thinking on the "Japanese-ness": the performative aspect of Japanese architecture.

If we take an overview the whole picture of the study of Japanese architectural history, it will be that from Itō Chūta and Sekino Tadashi's 關野貞 studies the searching for the continental origin of Japanese architecture in China and Korea has been initiated. After that, Japanese architectures dated in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries have been studied mainly through typological analysis. From 1937 on, a group of young historians including Adachi Yasushi 足立康, Ōoka Minoru 大岡實, Ōta Hirotaro 太田博太郎, Sekino Masaru 關野克, Takeshima Takuichi 竹島卓一, Tani Shigeo 谷重雄, and Fukuyama Toshio 福山敏男 established the Kenchikushi Kenkyūkai 建築史研究會 [Society for the Study of Architectural History] and initiated the journal *Architectural History*. This group of historians aimed to differentiate their research from the study of their predecessors about early Chinese, Korean, and Japanese architecture, and started to rely more on textual evidence in their research. The period of study gradually moved downward to the so-called *chūsei* 中世 [middle ages].<sup>189</sup> It was roughly around the same time, in the 1930s, that the study of residential buildings was initiated by Horiguchi, using materials that are mainly concentrated in the Heian period and after, due to availability. While the study of

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<sup>189</sup> It is commonly agreed that the so-called *chūsei* starts from the late Heian period and ends before Momoyama period.

residential architecture was initiated directly by the inquiries into “Japanese-ness” in modern architectural design, the methods applied in the study of non-residential architecture also were partly taken from the ideas of modern architecture. Taut’s visit in 1933 and his criticism of several examples of traditional architecture including Katsura have indeed exerted considerable influence not only upon Japanese modernist design but also in shaping the whole picture of the study of Japanese architectural history.

*The Export of “Japanese-ness” in Architecture to the Western World*

Modern architecture worldwide has undeniably gained inspiration from Japanese architecture, and it is safe to say that Japanese influences on America have been greater than on Europe. Although European painting and minor arts were greatly affected by the East Asia, in America the East Asian influences were represented in part by the blood-and-bone, realistic, practical art of American architecture. In the course of Japan promoting its native culture to the outside world, there is a clear lineage in which the changing role of the *shoin* style building has played can be learned.

In an article titled “Japanese buildings in the United States before 1900,” published in 1953, Clay Lancaster looks into the exact sources, dates, and manner in which Japanese features were first accepted in America. He finds out that with only one exception, all of the American literature on Japanese architecture has been published since 1900; yet the Japanese manner was firmly established before that date. The actual buildings, which were fashioned originally in Japan, transported in pieces, and put up in America by

Japanese carpenters were the major sources that provided the most direct vision of “Japanese” which had allowed Americans to make a first-hand examination of Japanese buildings. Three groups of such buildings were erected during the last quarter of the nineteenth century: one on the East Coast, one in the Great Lakes region, and the other in California.

The 1876 Centennial International Exhibition held in Philadelphia, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, exhibited the first one. Besides the Japanese Bazaar, which was a low, unpretentious pavilion foregrounded by a suggestion of a Japanese garden, Japan also presented a two-story, U-shaped dwelling with an off-center doorway (fig. 3-9). A proto-*teikan* style can be immediately recognized through the direct conjunction of the large volume of the two stories and the tiled pitched roof on top and at the waist of the building, as well as the *irimoya-zukuri* 入母屋造 roof atop the doorway. However, several identifiable Japanese elements which could be traced to the *shoin* style represented the struggle in between long-term established life style and the direct assimilation of Western influences -- one should remember the fact that prior to WWI, most Japanese people were not yet accustomed to sitting in a chair, and thus the interior of a house would rarely be decorated in the Western style. It is not until around WWI that Japanese people would use chairs as regular furniture in their house.<sup>190</sup> The walls of the first floor were filled by latticework, which is a typical characteristic of the *minka*-dwelling; the second floor was

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<sup>190</sup> Koizumi, *Traditional Japanese Furniture*.

enclosed by movable, solid wood panels or *amado* 雨戸 [shutters, literally rain doors], with *to-bukuro* 戸袋 [box-like closets] projecting on each side of the building for storing the panels, typical in late *shoin* style buildings.



Fig. 3-9 The Japanese dwelling at the Centennial International Exhibition held in Philadelphia, 1876. Lancaster, “Japanese buildings in the United States before 1900,” 220-221, fig. 2.

Part of the reasons that the interior of this building was criticized as “with costly carpets of odd design” is that the overall configuration recalls a Western mansion. Japanese elements such as the pitched roofs and the sliding doors were added, but they were minor and subordinate in the entire visual effect. People conceived of this building first as a Western building, which made the Japanese elements become merely “odd” decorations. Although it is not clear whether the regular *tatami* mats were applied -- probably because they were not deemed sturdy enough to resist American’s hard-shod feet, they probably were replaced by the “costly carpets,” -- the result was an awkward combination of the

carpet floor for chair-sitting life style and the sliding doors down to the floor for the floor-sitting habit.

The next set of the importation of actual Japanese architecture to America was at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The famous replica of the Hōō-dō, or Phoenix Hall, of the Byōdō-in at Uji was exhibited (fig. 3-10). It is said that it was visited by and exerted great influences on Frank Lloyd Wright, who established his practice in the same year as the exhibition. The exhibited building was not an exact copy of the original Hōō-dō, but a combination of three sets of Japanese arts from three periods. The original houses a gigantic wooden statue of Amida Buddha, whereas the replica, reduced in size, was fitted up like a palace, in other words, a building for residential uses. With the "dō" in its name, the original refers to a religious hall. But in this replica, the "dō" was changed to "den," which is normally translated as the palace. The rear opposite hall was omitted in the replica.<sup>191</sup> The exterior and the interior of the left wing was dominated by Fujiwara (897-1185) period art, namely, the *shinden* style: the floor was high; the columns were round instead of square; *shitomido* 藪戸 [vertical shutters] kept up by means of metal hooks during the day and let down at night were applied; *tatami* mats covered only a portion of the interior. The interior of the right wing, on the other hand, was applied with art reminiscent of Ashikaga (1397-1568) period. The pavilion was divided into two rooms by sliding doors, a library and tea room. Typical *shoin* style built-in furniture such as the alcove for displaying art objects, shelves, and the built-in desk

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<sup>191</sup> The opposite hall was likely added in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

was applied. The central hall was based on the design of the apartments of the prince in the castle of Edo of the late Tokugawa Period (1615-1867), of which the interior style is also the *shoin* style.<sup>192</sup> Different from the last one in Philadelphia, in the Chicago Fair, what was meant to be represented was a combination of national treasures from different periods. The exposure of the Japanese *shoin* style building to the Western world reached a level it never had before. The style was not only exhibited as the key feature of the interior but also took a great part in shaping the whole configuration of the building. It seems that what Japanese thought as of great value to be presented to the world and distinguishable enough to be identified as Japanese entirely laid upon the nation's residential building types. The Heian-period *shinden* style was represented in the overall layout of the complex and the exterior and the interior of the left wing; the *chūsei*-period developed *shoin* style was represented in the library with the tea house of the right wing, and the interior of the castle dwelling furnished in the central hall. An increasing confidence with the nation's residential culture could be told from the different renderings of the two expositions, one in 1876 Philadelphia and one in 1883 Chicago.



Fig. 3-10 Hōō-den at the Chicago Columbian Exposition, 1883. Lancaster, "Japanese buildings," 220-221, fig. 8.

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<sup>192</sup> Lancaster, "Japanese buildings in the United States before 1900," 217-224.



The last importation of Japanese building within the 19<sup>th</sup> century was through the California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894. Some new structures composed the Japanese Village, including a two-story gate, a Japanese garden, a thatched tea house, a theater, torii 鳥居 [bird perch, a roofless gate], a Shinto shrine, and a residence. A more integrated residential culture was rendered in the exhibition in comparison to the one in Chicago through inviting a garden to engage all the necessary parts of a typical Japanese house. Japanese arts were exhibited in genuine Japanese space and environment instead of being adapted into foreign or domestic but heterogeneous building types: *tatami* mats do not have to be replaced by the carpets in order to cater to the visitors' habits; the tea ceremony could take place in an authentic Japanese garden instead of a room from a previously religious building.

The most recent American importation of an actual Japanese building was initiated in 1953 by Philip Johnson, who was then the architectural director, and Arthur Drexler, who was by then the curator, of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. A modified replica of the Kyakuden of Kōjōin 光浄院客殿 [Guest Hall of Kōjōin] was established in the courtyard of the museum. Originally built in 1601, Kōjōin is one of the two earliest extant examples of the *shoin* style in Japan, and was believed to be much optimized in design than the other built in 1600.<sup>193</sup> This time, the *shoin* style building was rendered on

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<sup>193</sup> Zhang Yiling 張逸凌, “Jianzhu sheji shijiao xia Quanyueyuan Kedian yu Guangjingyuan Kedian zhi duizhao fenxi” 建築設計視角下勸學院客殿與光浄院客殿之對照分析 [Comparative analysis of the Kyakuden of Kangakuin and Kyakuden of Kōjōin: an architectural design perspective] (unpublished).

its own without the assistance of any other building styles. Rather than being exhibited as an exact replica, the house has been adjusted and added functional spaces including a kitchen, a bath, and a tea house with the intention of demonstrating a model of a functional house. Immediately following the opening of the exhibition, two critical articles by American architects and critics were successfully published on the subject of how American houses should learn from the intellectual heritage of Japanese residential culture.

“Few modern American dwellings are flexible in their employment of space as the traditional Japanese one. Again, the American architect, in his pleasure over the idea of ‘bringing the outdoors inside,’ has created fixed glass walls, which not merely filter out the healthful ultraviolet rays of the sun, along with the perfumes of the garden, but leave the householder no choice between complete visual exposure and complete enclosure behind blinds or curtains. This sort of design lacks the Japanese visual contrast between light and dark, as well as the psychological contrast between inner and outer. Such indifference to visual contrast, such disregard of privacy, indicates a certain coarseness of feeling in the American architect, which is another way of saying that he is the victim of his own mechanical formulas....”<sup>194</sup>

If the intention of exhibiting a model for American house design was clear, the question of why Kōjōin, instead of any other buildings, has been selected deserves further discussion. If Japanese residential building is the pool from which the exhibition object was selected, the *shinden* style building would be first deleted because of the absence of the authentic remains; the *sōan* and the *sukiya* styles had been exhibited before and can be both traced back to the *shoin* style. Also, the scales of such buildings would be too small to accommodate all kinds of daily activities, but rather could only be used for

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<sup>194</sup> See Lewis Mumford, “Windows and gardens,” *The New Yorker*, Oct 02, 1954.

particular moments such as tea ceremonies. After Taut visited Katsura in 1933 and gave high credit to it, the study of the *shoin* style building had officially been inaugurated in Japan. The debate around “Japanese-ness” stemming from diverse discussions about Katsura during the next twenty years further reinforced the unique identity of this building type. Its visual resemblance to modernist architecture resulted in its attraction not only to Taut but also to Americans. However, the notion of “Japanese-ness,” to a Japanese architect, had already been imbued with richer understandings than merely the formal and functionalist interpretations. A genuine Japanese space contains not only a space, or the physical environment provided by the *shoin* style building itself, but also the accordant living style and activities that may happen in that space, which manifest the performative dimension of the building. Interestingly, the year of 1953, in which the modified replica of the Kyakuden of Kōjōin was exhibited in New York, is also the year Horiguchi published his book on Katsura, which marked a transitional moment for the *shoin* style building to be identified and promoted as the container of “Japanese-ness.”

Later in 1958, the replica was transported to Philadelphia and reestablished as a permanent building at Fairmount Park on the site of the Centennial Exposition of 1876. History seems to have completed a perfect circle over the eighty-two years. The uncertainty about how to express “Japanese-ness” shown in the Western style-based Japanese mansion in 1876 by Japanese architects was in 1958 replaced by a permanently built pure *shoin* style house with a strong cultural identity recognized by Americans.

We are not sure whether the positive reception of the Japanese residential culture has in return encouraged the study of residential architecture in Japan. Indeed, after the 1950s, scholarship on the history of residential architecture flourished, along with which were the traceable inspirations the American house design gained from Japanese houses.<sup>195</sup> These could be a coincidental parallel of two independent incidences. But one thing is certain: from the 1950s, the Japanese house officially started to exert its influences upon modern architecture in a worldwide scope, different from only being the source of modern Japanese architecture as it was in the 1930s.

### **Yipu, Chinese Gardens, and “Chinese-ness” in Modern Architecture**

#### *The Rediscovery of Yipu by Modern Architects*

Wang Shu 王澐(1963-), the winner of the Pritzker Prize of 2012, is one of several modern architects who declared to have received direct inspirations from the Chinese garden in their practices. In an interview, he stated that Yipu is his favorite Chinese garden.

“What remains in that garden is perhaps the oldest among all Suzhou gardens. It was built by Wen Zhengming’s 文徵明 grandson. It is also a straightforward design, but it still looks like it follows some principles. This is fantastic. I am saying that simple as it is, there is still something in it that moves you, that is unspeakable, but makes you linger.”<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Lancaster, “Japanese buildings in the U. S. before 1900,” 223-224. Typical examples include the works of Greene & Greene’s firm.

<sup>196</sup> Dai Zhikang 戴志康, *Zhongguo Qizhi: Dazhaidi* 中國氣質·大宅第 [The Chinese temperament: grand mansions] (Shanghai: Wenhui Chubanshe, 2006), 199.

Yipu indeed made a deep impression on Wang Shu, which is reflected in his Wenzheng School Library at Suzhou University, finished in 2000 (fig. 3-11). Wang Shu admitted that this design has referred to the concept of Yipu. Li Xiangning 李翔寧, a friend of Wang Shu who was at the time an associate professor teaching in the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at Tongji University, commented in an article (2014) that

“Wenzheng School Library at Suzhou University, a project that I like a great deal, also symbolizes the important role that Chinese gardens as spatial and cultural models had started to take in Wang Shu’s architectural world. The architectural language is Western and modern, yet the spatial model is traditional and classic. On the one hand, the influence of modernism’s followers, from Peter Eisenman to Alvaro Siza, on Wang Shu is unmistakable: a rectangular box leaning against a body of water, a diagonal main axis, a half cube intersecting with the main building at an angle, and those rear steps that can be used as an amphitheater reminded one of Eisenman or Venturi’s steps that lead to nowhere. On the other hand, the influence of miniature garden landscape from the small garden, Yipu of Suzhou, is also obvious: waterfront tea houses and small pavilions in the middle of the water. All these spatial relationships are directly translated into a modern architectural language precisely because this building combined traditional Chinese garden spaces with Western modernist architectural language seamlessly. In the projects following Wenzheng School Library, the former played a more and more significant role, while the latter became more and more hidden, almost vanishing completely.”<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Li Xiangning 李翔寧, “Zuowei dikang de jianzhuxue: Wang Shu he tade jianzhu,” 作為抵抗的建築學: 王澍和他的建築 [Architecture as a resistance: Wang Shu and his architectures], *Jianzhu yu Dushi* 建築與都市, ed. Jianzhu yu Dushi Zhongwenban Bianjibu 建築與都市中文版編輯部, no. 026 (Apr 2009), 145-150.



Fig. 3-11 Yipu (top); Wenzheng School Library at Suzhou University by Wang Shu, 2000 (bottom).

In the same above-mentioned interview, Wang Shu himself explained the design slightly differently from Li.

“The two projects (Wenzheng and the one in Jinhua Park of Architecture and Art 金華建築藝術公園) share several characteristics, one of which is the consideration of the location of the building amid the mountain and the water. Taking the Wenzheng project for example, it is a building of 9000 square meters on a small patch of land; the mountain and water body next to it are also not so large. Then the question is, how to decide an appropriate scale (of the building)? So I referred the experience I have gained from Yipu. There is a huge building in that garden, but the design makes you only able to stand inside the building and look out at the small pavilion. Therefore, what decides your sense of the scale is the small pavilion. It becomes a standard point of your judgment....”<sup>198</sup>

What Li called the seemingly “seamless” combination of modernist architectural language and garden space has been previously guaranteed by the visual resemblance between Yanguang Ge and a typical modernist rectangular box. At this level, Wang Shu’s operation was only to abstract the characteristic similarity to the rectangular box out of Yanguang Ge and eliminate the rest. The seamless combination of “modern language” and “garden space” is more of a result of his design than his motive -- his intention was more than that. If Yanguang Ge was a regular, small, water pavilion instead of a building with such a large volume, which is unique among all Suzhou gardens, Wang Shu may never have noticed it and even tried to represent its spatial form in his design. It is safe to speculate that part of the reason that Yipu had deeply moved Wang Shu had also to do with the fact that Yanguang Ge immediately reminded him of the modernist box, considering the education Wang Shu and his generation of architects received. Borrowing Horiguchi’s words, their eyes are familiar with modernist aesthetics. To

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<sup>198</sup> Dai, *Zhongguo Qizhi*, 205.

anybody who has modernist eyes, Yipu may naturally seem “very modern,” just like Katsura to Taut’s eyes.

However, one reality that deserves attention is that not only Yanguang Ge was a post-Jiang phase addition by the Wu family during 1823-1824 instead of a Ming remains, but also that at the time Wu Chuanxiong purchased it, a water pavilion with such a giant volume may also have been very rare, or “modern” among all Suzhou gardens. Yanguang Ge of Yipu in the Qixiang Office of Silk Guild phase, which has been turned into a semi-public space, provided a unique but successful example of how to make a building for non-literati in a Suzhou garden, considering that most Suzhou gardens were private and exclusively open for the owner’s friends. At this point, the success of Yanguang Ge is of great value for modern garden design, which always encounters doubts about the extent to which the heritage of the Chinese private garden could be utilized by the modern public. Just as Katsura’s flowing space is largely due to the *gankō* 雁行 [flying geese] diagonal form created by later-period additions, Yanguang Ge is also an additional project in Yipu with a fairly late date. The succinct spatial structure of the garden, the relationship between the building, the pond, and the mountain, which Wang Shu appreciated the most, and where he believed the “fantastic part” comes from, is also due to a very late renovation and the periphery shrinkage during the post-Jiang phase under the Wu merchants’ ownership. But Wang Shu does not care so much about the exact dates of the building and spatial arrangement of Yipu. No matter whether his interpretation of the design of the Wenzheng project reflected his original concept or not,



what he was trying to emphasize is his control of the “scale,” which involves not only the volume of the building, but also the relationship between the mountain, the water, and the building. In Wenzheng, the problem of scale relies on a specific method broadly applied in the design of traditional gardens, usually expressed as “framing the view” -- to view the outside from the inside of a building. Since the viewing eyes are inside the building, the volume of the building disappears and becomes a minor concern. Only through a pair of buildings, in Wenzheng the small pavilion “imitating” Ruyi Pavilion and the main building “imitating” the Yanguang Ge, can the problem of scale be represented in a Chinese way (fig. 3-12). Wang Shu considers the small pavilion a ruler to mediate the scale between the building and its environment, which in this case, is the relatively small mountain and water body. Although Wang Shu admitted that Wenzheng was also designed to be viewed from the outside to see the large volume which I believe has represented his lingering interest of the modernist rectangular box, it seems he has already embarked to conceive his design through a Chinese mind (fig. 3-12). In Wenzheng, the problem he aimed to resolve is how to situate a large volume into a limited scale of the landscape. This question is the same everlasting one generations of garden designers have asked: on a narrow urban site without large mountains and large bodies of water, how to make a garden? However, at this stage, Wang Shu has not yet gone further to develop the performative dimension of his design. As much as he has aimed to invite the viewer coming into the building, Wenzheng is by no means a design that could be enjoyed on a human scale by a private individual. Not only were the two buildings elevated too high above the water surface for people to get close, but the entire façade of the main building on the water side was also tightly sealed by a glass curtain

wall. In great contrast to Yanguang Ge, where in the summer the cool breeze from the pond could come into the building through the lower part of the lattice panels, Wenzheng's users complained that they had to completely close the curtain behind the glass wall during most daylight hours to shut out the strong sun light. Although Wang Shu is clearly aware of the importance of the performative aspect of traditional Chinese architecture, in Wenzheng, one cannot see any intention of luring people to go into the surrounding landscape and the small building, which is a common strategy of making an ideal garden.<sup>199</sup> In the Wenzheng project, Wang Shu's treatment of scaling was to a large degree still following the Western training he gained from his education -- the small pavilion, the mountain, and the water body were considered objects to be arranged. Without consideration of the performative aspect of the human scale, any formal operation will eventually lead to a visual representation aimed to be viewed at a frozen moment, which is also the case of the Wenzheng project. At more than one time, Wang Shu has mentioned the simplicity that he appreciated about Yipu. "Such simplicity also exists in Qingteng Shuwu 青藤書屋 [Study of green ivy]. It stands for the most basic and purest senses of the ideal of a Chinese [literatus] for his life style. It is a tiny house with a yard, a garden, and some bamboos. It has two *jin*, with a front courtyard and a rear one. A fish pond extends beneath the study. Two pieces of stone are set at the corner. Some bamboo trees are planted there. In a way, this house can be called a model type. This is to say, no matter how big your house is, the core is roughly like this." If there is a "model

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<sup>199</sup> An ideal garden must be "suitable for walking, sightseeing, staying, and strolling." First pointed out by Guo Xi 郭熙, the renowned Song Dynasty landscape painting critic in his book *Linquan Gaozhi* 林泉高致 [Lofty springs and forests], the "four suitabilities" later became the standard of appreciating a Chinese garden.

type” for all the Chinese houses, Yipu and Green Ivy Study exhibit the simplest representations. The current structure of the garden of Yipu consists of a mountain, a building, and a pond in between. But one should note that only through rational conceiving and abstracting could such structure and the beauty of its simplicity be sensed, during which process other non-structural elements would be eliminated. If the performative interests of scrolling in a garden appeal to the body and thus the spirit, a gaze of the structure of a garden could only entertain the rational mind. Such a model which “must be following some kind of principles” could directly be reproduced in other designs, of which qualities are readily guaranteed by the ideal model. Such convenience must have also moved Wang Shu.



Fig. 3-12 Viewing from inside Yanguang Ge toward the outside.



Fig. 3-13 The quasi-modernist rectangular box represented by Yanguang Ge.

Therefore, we can conclude that Li Xiangning is at least in one way very correct: Wenzheng signifies a moment that garden culture began to take an important role in Wang's thinking and design. However, its influence has not fully rendered yet by then.

### *Garden Study in the Study of Chinese Architectural History*

#### Liang 梁思成 and Lin's 林徽因 Methods of the Study of Chinese Architectural History and Architectural Thinking

As one of the most significant founders of the study of Chinese architectural history, Liang's thinking on architecture has started to be thoroughly reviewed and researched in

recent years.<sup>200</sup> But for most students of Chinese architectural history, Liang is still more of a positivist historian than an architect. His writings on the timber buildings that he and his colleagues discovered and surveyed during the period of Yingzao Xueshe 營造學社, as well as his *Yingzao Fashi Zhushi* 營造法式註釋 [Illustration of Yingzao Fashi] are still top on the list of required readings for any class of Chinese architectural history. This body of literature significantly surpasses that about his architectural thinking in quantity. On the one hand, because generations of his students became teachers in the most important architecture departments of universities in China, his figure as the founder of the architecture discipline in China is unshakable. On the other hand, too little about his architectural thinking and his searching for the “Chinese-ness” in architectural expression was researched and developed to benefit modern design. Missing this part of his legacy is due to multiple reasons, among which the political factors should take the primary responsibility. For one intended to give Liang a historical definition, it soon fell into an awkward dilemma. Although respected as the founder of the architecture discipline of China, many contemporary architects who are inclined to modernism do not learn from or even refuse to learn from him. He can be identified as an architect but is by no means a modernist architect. Similarly, it seems the gap between the historical study and the architectural design is too deep to be bridged even today. However, the fact that Liang

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<sup>200</sup> Zhu Tao 朱濤. *Liang Sicheng yu Tade Shidai* 梁思成與他的時代 [Liang Sicheng and his time]. Hong Kong: Niu Jin Daxue Chubanshe, 2014.

Cody, Jeffrey W., Nancy S. Steinhardt, and Tony Atkin. *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014.

Lai Delin 賴德林. “Zhulin Qixian: xiandai Zhongguo jianzhushi yu chuantong de duihua qili.” 築林七賢——現代中國建築師與傳統的對話七例 [Seven worthies of modern Chinese architecture and their dialogues with the tradition]. *Jianzhushi* 建築師 [The architect], no. 4 (2012).

Zhao Chen 趙辰. *Limian de Wuhui* 立面的誤會 [The misunderstanding of façade]. Beijing: Sanlian Shidian, 2007.

has experienced unbearable mistreatment in his later life makes the reflections on his “tragic failure” in searching the “Chinese-ness” for modern architectural design not only too sensitive but also too unbearably heavy.<sup>201</sup>

On the one hand, people cannot accept the saying that their teacher, the respectful founder of Chinese architecture, has failed in the discipline he founded by his own hands; on the other hand, it does make sense that the methods Liang applied in his research on timber architecture, which could be traced back to the Beaux-Arts system in his education at the University of Pennsylvania, destined him to go on the path of eclectic design and miss modernism. In a recent work published in 2014, Zhu Tao conducts meticulous research on the development of Liang’s architectural thinking in which a series of self-critical literature, articles and prefaces on the big issues of architecture are carefully examined. Zhu realizes that Liang’s architectural thinking actually did not stop at the education he received at Penn.<sup>202</sup> From 1946 to 1947, Liang went on a tour to the United States to investigate post-war American architectural education, and visited architects and newly built architecture, to prepare for a newly structured architecture department in the new China. Starting from the 1930s Liang generated great enthusiasm for modernism. More importantly, his reading of the development of Chinese timber architecture was constructivist, which came from the late-period Beaux Art training. Such thinking is not completely contrary to modernist principles, but could coexist with them. Liang’s Penn advisor Paul Philippe Cret, in his 1920s-1940s lectures, frequently compared Jean-Nicolas-

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<sup>201</sup> Zhao, *Limian de Wuhui*.

<sup>202</sup> Zhu, *Liang Sicheng*, 104.

Louis Durand and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc's thinking which are parts of the foundation of the Beaux Art system, to modernist ideas, aiming to prove that Beaux-Arts, to an extent, inspired modernism. Zhu further gives his reconstruction of Liang and Lin's three-step thinking on how to turn the model of Chinese timber structure into the modernist architecture: Chinese timber architecture, in structural logic, has much in common with Western Gothic architecture; the Gothic structures, through 18-19<sup>th</sup> century Western architectural historians' interpretations and explorations, have been successfully turned into the modern frame with the application of modern materials such as steel, reinforced concrete, and cast iron. Is it then correct to speculate that the Chinese timber structure also has the potential to be transformed into modern architecture?

However, as Zhu writes, "Liang and Lin did not have the chance to further develop the question of to what extent a Chinese structure built by reinforced concrete and steel could still be called Chinese architecture." At this point, I would add that neither did Liang and Lin's successors develop his thinking. Otherwise, China would have had excellent public building designs like many of Tange's works.

The historical reasons that led Chinese architectural design to the current situation are complicated. Under the context of the frozen relationship with the United States, and with modernism usually represented as in the international style first defined in the United States, the possible connection between the Chinese timber structure and the modernist building Liang has initially established during 1931-1948 was fully denied in his self-criticism in 1952. In 1953-1954, Liang returned to the Beaux-Arts classicism under the

“national form, socialist content.”<sup>203</sup> But at that moment he can never have foreseen another round of political turn initiated by the broken relationship of China with the Soviet Union coming, which directly led to the criticism of the “giant roof” (fig. 3-14).

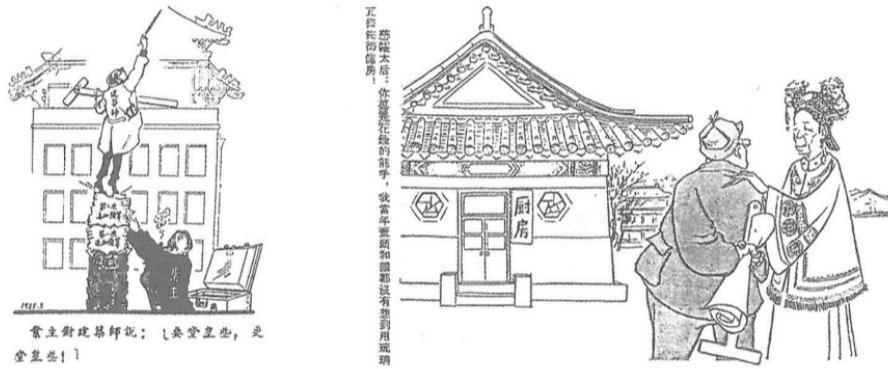


Fig. 3-14 Caricatures satirizing the “giant roof.” *Renmin Ribao* 人民日報 [Renmin daily] (Mar 1955) (left); *Beijing Ribao* 北京日報 [Beijing daily] (right). Zhu, *Liang Sicheng*, 168, fig. 3; 4.

### Tong Jun’s 童寯 Study of Chinese Garden

Tong Jun (1900-1983), one of the Penn graduates among the first-generation Chinese architects, was the first modern Chinese scholar who systematically investigated and studied traditional Chinese gardens. His thinking on traditional gardens has in recent years been reviewed, intensively discussed and appreciated by many modern architects like Wang Shu. The three “*jingjie*” 境界 [three realms of the sublimity of a good garden] he pointed out as the standards of criticizing a garden had not only been agreed and annotated by modern architects in many articles, books, and lectures, but also had been followed as the standards in directing their practices of modern design. The three *jignjie* - *- yanqian youjing* 眼前有景 [constantly appearing views], *shumi deyi* 疏密得宜

<sup>203</sup> Zhu, *Liang Sicheng*, 137.



[appropriate relationship of sparsity and density], and *quzhe jinzhi* 曲折盡致 [achieving fantastic spots through zigzag paths] was first proposed in his book *Jiangnan Yuanlin Zhi* 江南園林志 [On the Jiangnan gardens] finished in 1937, which was based on his personal on-site investigations of a large number of Jiangnan gardens beginning in 1931 when he moved to Shanghai from Shenyang because of the Mukden incident. In 1933, the architectural design office he joined in Shanghai was renamed as Huagai Jianzhushi Shiwusuo 華蓋建築師事務所 [Huagai Architect's Office]. He practiced as an architect until 1952 when he gave up that career and turned to focus on teaching.<sup>204</sup>

In the architectural circles of China, Tong Jun was known for his unsociable and proud personality, as well as his versatility in many aspects of art, Chinese and Western, traditional and modern. He was good at watercolor painting and also Chinese landscape painting; his architectural designs were mostly in the rigid modernist style whereas he interpreted Chinese gardens like a traditional scholar-gentleman, although it was not until the year 1931 that he first walked into a garden.

Tong's research on Chinese gardens embarked around the same time that he began his design practice. However, we cannot find a direct connection between his research on gardens and his thinking on architectural design. As the most enthusiastic advocate for

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<sup>204</sup> Lai Delin 賴德霖, "Tong Jun de zhiye renzhi, ziwo rentong yu xiandaixing zhuiqiu," 童寯的職業認知、自我認同和現代性追求 [Modernity of a Manchu architect: Tong Jun's life and architectural career]. *Jianzhushi* 建築師 [The architect] 158, no. 01 (2012): 10-16.

modernist architecture among his generation of Chinese architects, he wrote extensively on the subject of modernist architecture and relentlessly criticized revivalist designs.

“The Chinese style roof is itself very beautiful, but if the curving roofline is supported by reinforced concrete, it will not fit the initial aim of inventing this form. The flat roof is better, for it can automatically generate a flat platform. Do we still need color paintings? Reinforced concrete itself is a type of material that lasts, and the color painting easily falls off. Why bother to stick plaster medicine patches on a metal body? ... the material culture is endlessly evolving.... The only thing in common between a Chinese timber structure and a reinforced concrete building is the principle of structuring -- they are both frameworks. The new direction of architecture is to get rid of the restrictions of the classical style, the boundaries of countries, and to become a unified entity suitable for the time and to have a close relationship with the time.... The architecture in the world will be devoid of its historical and geographical characteristics. Architectural history from now on will follow the development of mechanics. The styles of architecture will have no differences in the East and the West, foreign or Chinese.”<sup>205</sup>

It seems Tong held a very positive attitude toward the tendency of the development of architecture he described, which is a kind of architectural “universalization” equivalent to architectural globalization. Here we can see his architectural thinking was significantly different from Liang and Lin’s. Tong has also found common traits that preexisted in the Chinese timber structure and the reinforced concrete structure, but he did not believe a Chinese new architecture could generate, or be transformed from the traditional timber structure. Instead, when it comes to the architectural practice, he was a technological determinist who did not consider style and form as the premier concerns of design. Therefore, he was not interested in searching for the “Chinese-ness” from the traditional Chinese timber structure, which is the opposite of Liang and Lin who raised the question

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

of how to transform the timber structure into the modernist Chinese architecture. Neither was he interested in the discussion of architectural styles -- the style will be automatically decided by the material and technologies applied, and is not a form that could be shown before construction. At this point, Tong's concept is also greatly different from Liang's idea during 1953-1954 when he returned to stand up for the revivalist style. But Tong was lucky enough to have survived many rounds of unexpected political battles in the following years, thanks to the location of his base in Shanghai which was far from the political center, Beijing. Otherwise, the kind of architecture he believed in, the "universal" architecture, would not have allowed him to escape being accused of leaning toward America, where the "international style" came from. The two classmates, both fully exposed to the Beaux Art system at Penn, generated entirely different thinking and stands on modern architecture in their respective careers. They seem to have formed a series of interesting dyads: north (Beijing) and south (Shanghai); authority-directed and interests-oriented; timber structure and Chinese garden; eclecticism and universal modernism. What is more interesting, Liang's methods of studying traditional timber structure have exerted direct influences upon the way historians studied Chinese gardens in successive years; Tong's thinking on the Chinese garden has been rediscovered and followed by the modern architects only recently.

#### *The Export of Chinese-ness in Architecture to the Western World*

It is an undeniable fact that Chinese architecture has never exerted as much influence as Japanese architecture has upon the modernist architecture in the Western world, at least

not until recently. Accordingly, modern Chinese architecture in the past a few decades has been far less recognized on international architecture platforms than Japanese modern architecture. Japanese architects have many times won Pritzker Prizes, whereas China welcomed the first winner only in 2012. Historical and political reasons are largely responsible -- from 1949-1972, many western scholars had to know China and Chinese culture through Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Japan. During the same period, first-generation architects who once tended to embrace modernism conceded to the eclecticism in the turmoil of political struggles. Later, when China reopened to the world, Western architecture had already become postmodern. The year 1972 is a meaningful turning point. In this year, China and the United States revived diplomatic communication. In the same year, Charles Jencks, an American architect among the very few who had interests in the Chinese garden, announced the death of modernism. Also in this year, Liang Sicheng passed away. The first-generation architects in China officially missed modernism.

Among the very few chances China had to present its progress in the modernization of architecture to the world, three are extremely important. The first was the 1933 Chicago World's Fair. As Cole Roskam has observed, it should be remembered as consequential episode in Republican China's tentative embrace of modern architecture. This fair was organized in response to concerns over the applicability of European-originated design innovations in the United States, the primary objective of which was both to redefine and to promote a new modern architectural idiom "not only in America but the world at

large.”<sup>206</sup> The Chinese government, which was at the moment Republican China, had initially accepted the invitation to the fair. But seriously hampered by the Japanese occupation in the following years, China withdrew its official commitment and found itself represented by two non-governmentally funded displays. One was proposed as the “Streets of Shanghai,” a gaily-colored reproduction of a section of the nineteenth-century port, which ended up with being a hastily built courtyard style pavilion financed by a group of Shanghai businessmen. The other was a piece-by-piece replica of an eighteenth-century Tibetan Buddhist hall, the Golden Temple of Jehol, sponsored by the Chicago industrialist Vincent Bendix (fig. 3-15). The decision made to exhibit the Golden Temple hall had initially been sparked by Dr. Sven Hedin, the world-renowned Swedish explorer, geographer, and sinologist, who had sought out the wealthy Swedish-American businessman in the hope that he might be willing to fund an expedition to purchase a Buddhist temple in China and reconstruct it on foreign soil, with the belief that China’s Tibetan Buddhist heritage was at particular risk of “total extinction.”<sup>207</sup> As Roskam concludes, the Bendix Golden Temple “fulfilled exhibition expectations and nationalistic narratives by celebrating the country’s rich, pre-existing architectural heritage without truly acknowledging its contested origins or uncertain future.” But the foreign origins of the initiator of its exhibition and the sponsor still left unanswered the question of what ought to be exhibited to present the modern nation-state identity of China by the

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<sup>206</sup> Cole Roskam, “Situating Chinese architecture within ‘A Century of Progress’: the Chinese pavilion, the Bendix Golden Temple, and the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (Jan 2014): 347.

<sup>207</sup> Roskam, “Situating Chinese architecture,” 351.

Chinese.<sup>208</sup> How the golden hall was perceived by the international viewers is also interesting to observe. The foreign viewers may have immediately found a high resemblance between the timber structure of the hall and the reinforced concrete structure featured in the modernist architecture with which they were familiar. However, to what extent a pure exotic religious monument could inspire Americans who had fully acknowledged by European architectural heritage featured great, large-scale religious monuments is a tricky question. From another perspective, in a country where individual rights and spirits were unprecedentedly celebrated, and where private houses were needed and built with surprising speed and amount, the attraction of the Golden Hall to Americans may not have been much.

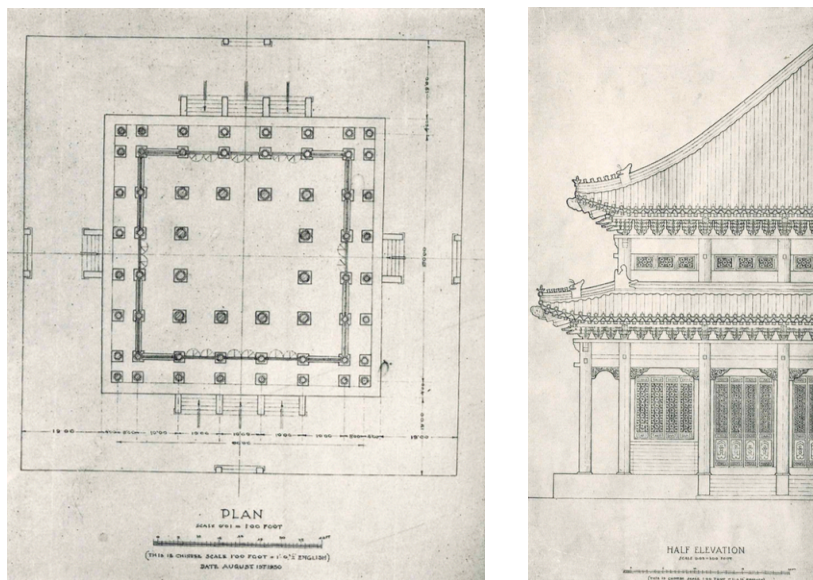


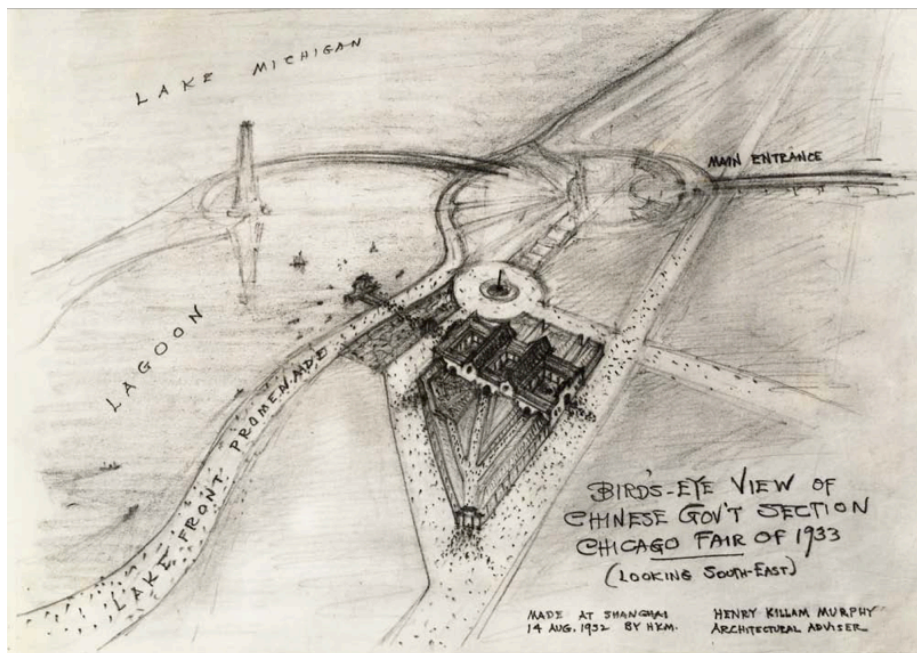
Fig. 3-15 Drawings of the Replica of the Golden Temple of Jehol exhibited in the 1933 Chicago Fair. Source: Wang Shiyu 王世堉. “Fang Rehe Putuo Zongcheng Si Songjingting ji,” 仿建熱河普陀宗乘寺誦經亭記 [On replicating the sutra chanting pavilion of the Putuo Zongcheng Temple of Rehol] *Zhongguo Yingzao Xueshe Huikan* 中國營造學社彙刊 [Bulletin of the Chinese Society for the Study of Construction] vol. 2, no. 2 (Sep 1931): 1-20.

<sup>208</sup> Roskam, *Ibid*, 368.

For the design of the Chinese Pavilion which in the end remained as in the proposals, the first that was approved by both American and Chinese fair representatives was by Henry Murphy, a Shanghai-based American architect and longtime consultant to the Republican government. This time he was retained as an informal exhibition advisor. The design drew inspiration from the layout of a Chinese gentleman's courtyard home and was composed of three courtyards, each containing a garden, pool, and decorative rockery, ringed by a promenade. Two two-story buildings were placed inside the courtyard, helping to define them while offering vantage points from which the entire pavilion could be admired. A series of adjoining rooms positioned around each courtyard would feature exhibits of Chinese paintings, sculpture, textiles, and bronzes. A tea garden restaurant was located slightly east near a lagoon (fig. 3-16). In this proposal, Murphy adopted an ostensibly "Chinese" linear composition, with a series of small alleys converging on three centrally located courtyards to re-create the "crowded streets of old Canton with Chinese sign-banners overhead." An energetic, bustling collection of sales people would lure visitors to the designed compound through a *pailou* 牌樓 [A Chinese roofed gate].

Roskam points out that Murphy failed to maximize the site's full spatial allotment, limited by his adherence to the strict orthogonal nature of the classic Chinese courtyard, and exoticized emblem of China repackaged from his own experiences. This comment cannot be more precise when one takes a closer look at the so-called gardens that were fit into the three courtyards. Pools and rockeries were placed at the central points of each courtyard, in a way more like the pools with fountains and statues placed in the center of the Western mansion courtyard or the city plaza, to be admired as artworks rather than as

the tree basins or artificial mountains piled in the Chinese courtyards, which are enjoyed through walking into them. The equivalent treatment to each courtyard and the openings on the side façades of the main compound which were connected to alleys coming from the main streets completely ignored the hierarchy of the three courtyards on the main axis, which is the essence of such a form. A simple replacement of material and the employment of the architectural form without understanding its original contexts and meanings challenged Murphey to recall any genuine sense of “Chinese” architecture. If Chinese elements were not misused and interpreted, there was still a chance of this project being called a quality example of a revivalist design, but in this case, every ostensibly “Chinese” element and spatial form was represented in a bizarre way. Probably due to Murphy’s unlikely fame in China, and his identity as an American architect, in the end, his design was strangely lauded by the fair organizers as embodying “true” Chinese architecture.





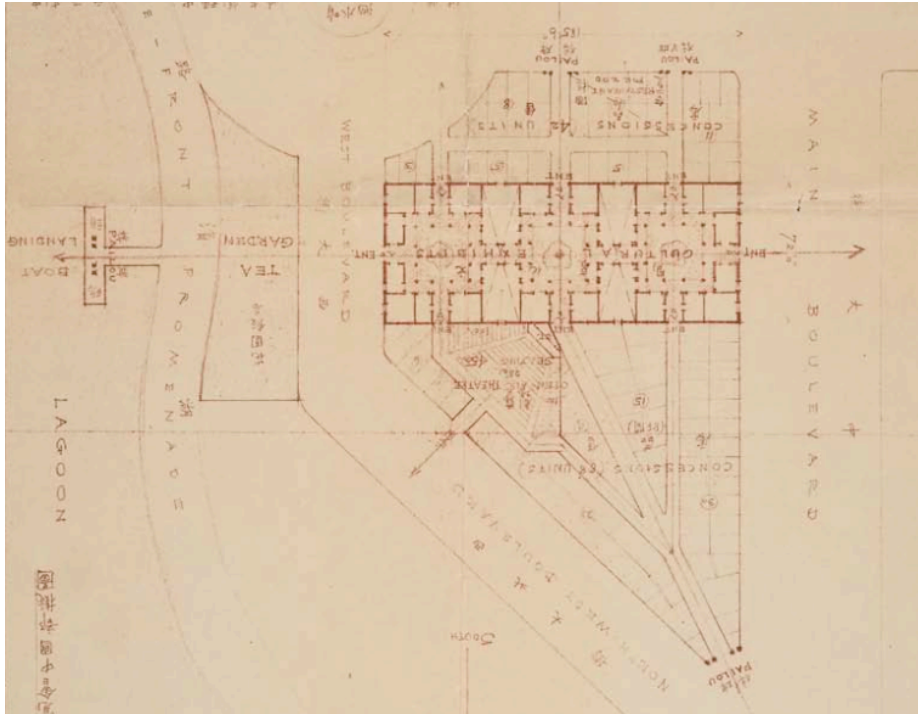


Fig. 3-16 Henry Murphy, Chinese Pavilion (proposed), Chicago, August 1932, perspective view (top); layout (part of the original archive, reversed, bottom). Roskam, “Situating Chinese Architecture,” 360-361, fig. 13; 14. ). COP\_02\_0052\_009\_37\_003; COP\_02\_0052\_009\_37\_001, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.

A subsequent shift in the position of the site due to road construction prompted the scheme’s revision, where Tong Jun, Xu Jingzhi 徐敬直 (1906-83), Wu Jingqi 吳景奇 (1900-1943) came in as the members of the Society of Chinese Architects delegated by the Chinese Fair Participation Committee for the design of the pavilion.<sup>209</sup> Roskam believes that this project “captures an important transitional moment in which some Republican-era Chinese architects, increasingly aware of the contradictory promotion of politically and socially progressive ideals through an essentially imperial-era Chinese aesthetic, began to eschew the more elaborate decorative and formal modalities of the state’s building program in favor of a more simplified, tectonic architectural expression

<sup>209</sup> Roskam, “Situating Chinese Architecture,” 360.

(fig. 3-17).”<sup>210</sup> This observation sensitively revealed the coherent relationship between the client’s anticipation and architectural expression by situating this event into the broader political background of China at that moment. As much as I agree with this observation, I would also like to add one more point to it by contextualizing this project into the development of the architects’ thinking. As mentioned above, one of the three architects, Tong Jun, firmly expressed in writing his advocacy for modernist architecture and his dislike of revivalist architecture. Although this project proposal was made at a very early stage of Tong’s practice, from 1933 to 1943, projects by Huagai architectural office where he practiced as a core member were without exception characterized by “strict styles, powerful proportion, upstanding lines, concise drawing, sober colors,” and to the greatest extent avoidance of “flamboyance and excessive decoration” with the emphasis on “volume, the effect of light and shadow, and the texture of the material.”<sup>211</sup> Huagai’s works always represented a kind of masculinity, and there is a high degree of coherence between Tong’s stand for modernist architecture in his writing and his practice (fig. 3-18). Therefore, it is interesting to see in the 1933 proposal for the Chinese pavilion how Chinese elements have been directly added onto the modernist expressions revealed by the stark, unadorned walls, flat rooftops, and large transparent openings with full exposure of the structural component on the façades of the commercial space. A free-standing *pailou* demarcating the “Court of Honor,” a square tower topping the entrance hall of the government exhibition center, a covered walkway ringing the exhibition center

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid, 361.

<sup>211</sup> Lai, “Tongjun de Zhiye Renzhi,” 33. From Chen Zhi 陳植, “Yijing gaoyi, caihua hengyi: daonian Tong Jun tongzhi,” 意境高逸，才華橫溢——悼念童寯同志 [Lofty minded and versatile: in memorial of colleague Tong Jun], *Jianzhushi* 建築師 [The architect] 16 (1983): 3-4. s.

court, a pavilion with the gable and hipped roof topping the south building of the aboveground part of the public theater complex, and a pavilion located in the center of the square plaza of the commercial space, together revealed a straightforward combination of Chinese traditional styles and modernist languages. To what extent the multi-storied restaurant can be considered to have been configured as a traditional Tibetan palace is debatable, but the overall project showed no intention of adjusting or compromising either the Chinese or modernist styles, but rather respectively applying them in their pure original languages. The overall plan seems to have followed a Western idea of volume organization, with the Chinese style buildings being arranged at certain points as visual focuses and marking the orientation of the axes of several sub-complexes and entrances. Considering that this project was so different from Tong's other work during his career in Huagai, and his consistent repulsion against the revivalist style, and adding that the underlying goal of this pavilion design was to present a kind of "Chinese-ness," one cannot help suspect that adding those unadapted Chinese symbols directly at certain points of this project was a reluctant compromise for Tong under the pressure from the client. Such treatment reminds us of Horiguchi's operation in the House of Purple Haze, in which he directly put a tea house and modern architecture side-by-side, representing a "style without style." To a great extent, Tong's attitude to architectural style was similar to Horiguchi's. As a technological determinist, he did not believe in style design either. If style will be automatically decided by the material and technologies applied, it truly becomes a style without style.

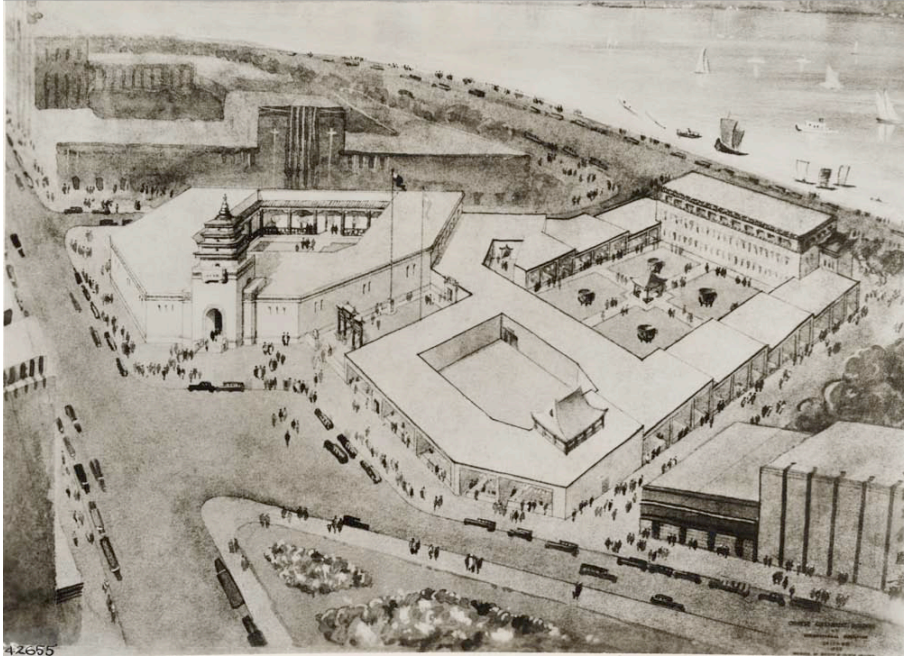


Fig. 3-17 Tong Jun, Xu Jingzhi, and Wu Jingqi, Chinese Society of Architects, Chinese Pavilion (proposed), Chicago, 1933. Kaufmann & Fabry Co., Chicago [photographer], ca. 1932. HALIC, Ryerson and Burnham Archives, Art Institute of Chicago. Digital File #42655 copyright Art Institute of Chicago). Roskam, “Situating Chinese architecture,” 362, fig. 15.

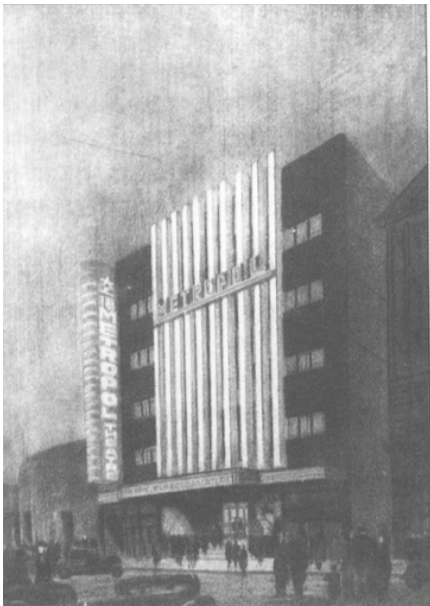


Fig. 3-18 Shanghai Theater, the project of Huagai Architectural Office, 1933. Lai Delin, “Tongjun de zhiye renzhi, ziwo rentong yu xiandaixing zhuiqiu,” 童寓的職業認知、自我認同和現代性追求 [Modernity of A Manchu architect: Tong Jun’s life and architectural career] *Jianzhushi* 建築師 [The architect] 158, no. 01 (2012): 15, fig. 11.

The proposal was met with disappointment on the part of American officials and was given the comments of being “a failed attempt to capture ‘the really beautiful, artistic, and unique in Chinese architecture’ through the unfortunate and overeager ‘compromise’ it struck between Chinese and foreign architecture.”<sup>212</sup> On the contrary, the Golden Temple was being promoted as characteristic of Chinese “authentic” cultural traditions by the Americans, which showed the Americans’ expectations for China at the fair. If the pure Chinese expression and the graceful modern expression of “Chinese-ness” could not be gained simultaneously in one project, people would rather see the former only. But a second-rate expression of Western modernism was by no means the choice. The fail of Tong, Xu and Wu’s proposal explained such a position of the Americans. When young Chinese architects were making their full efforts to embrace modernism to find the way for the “new” architecture of China instead of particularly focusing on designing the genuine “Chinese” architecture, their work would never meet the expectation of the fair organizers. The Chinese government at that moment was also trying to identify their position through catching up with the technological and economic development of the new world, which in an event like an international fair, was almost doomed to be considered at an inferior place.

On such an international platform, Chinese projects can only successfully gain an audience through fully revealing the authentic Chinese-ness. But the notion of modernism, emerged and developed in the Western world, to Chinese architects at the time was still a

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<sup>212</sup> Roskam, “Situating Chinese architecture,” 363.

new notion. To be able to reflect on this new notion and produce graceful work, it requires long-term thinking and discussion. But the 1933 Chicago Fair indeed caught Chinese architects unprepared, not to mention there was a high possibility that some of the young architects themselves were not even interested in the topic of Chinese-ness.

The last example is Ming Xuan 明軒, which was a gift from China to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1979 in memorial of the reestablishment of official diplomatic communication between China and America. It is a full-size Chinese garden, transported from Suzhou in pieces and reassembled by Suzhou craftsmen in an interior court of the Museum. The gift was replica of Dianchun Yi 殿春簃 [Peony Studio] part of Wangshi Garden 網師園 [Master of the Nets Garden] (fig. 3-19). The authenticity of this work was particularly emphasized by sending local craftsmen and by producing all the components beforehand in Suzhou. The whole work showed no intention of being a design to respond to modern architecture.<sup>213</sup> However, because the exhibition was in an interior environment, plants were difficult to maintain; no big trees were allowed; large stones were also avoided in order not to exert unaffordable pressure to the floor slab. The replica thus seems to be a little bleaker than the original. Ponds were even more difficult to make in an interior space without prior design and supporting facilities. Such a situation makes one doubt if it is the limited condition of the exhibition venue that has partly decided Dianchun Yi to be selected, because this part of Wangshi Garden was by no means the best example of a Suzhou garden. According to Cao Xun's research, the land area of

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<sup>213</sup> Murck, Alfreda, and Fong Wen. *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980.

Dianchu Yi used to be a water body linked to the present-day pond beyond the courtyard wall (fig. 3-20).<sup>214</sup> In reality, a garden without a decent water body could at best be called a courtyard instead of a garden. For this reason, the replica of the present-day Dianchun Yi was at least less good than its original configuration in the past. What was worse, the best part of Dianchun Yi, which is the view gained from inside of Dianchun Yi to the plants and stones against the zigzagged northern wall of the courtyard, failed to appear in its original configurations because of the limited area and the regular shape of the interior court -- only a three-modular bays building was fitted into the court with its axis overlapping with the central axis of the court (fig. 3-20 center and bottom). The subtle change in the views from the original two parts of the hall was reduced to one kind of view (fig. 3-21).



Fig. 3-19 Ming Xuan in the interior court of the New York Modern Museum of Art.

<sup>214</sup> Cao Xun 曹迅, "Wangshi Yuan de lishi bianqian," 網師園的歷史變遷 [Historical changes of Master of Nets Garden], *Jianzhuahi* 建築師 [The architect] 12 (2004).







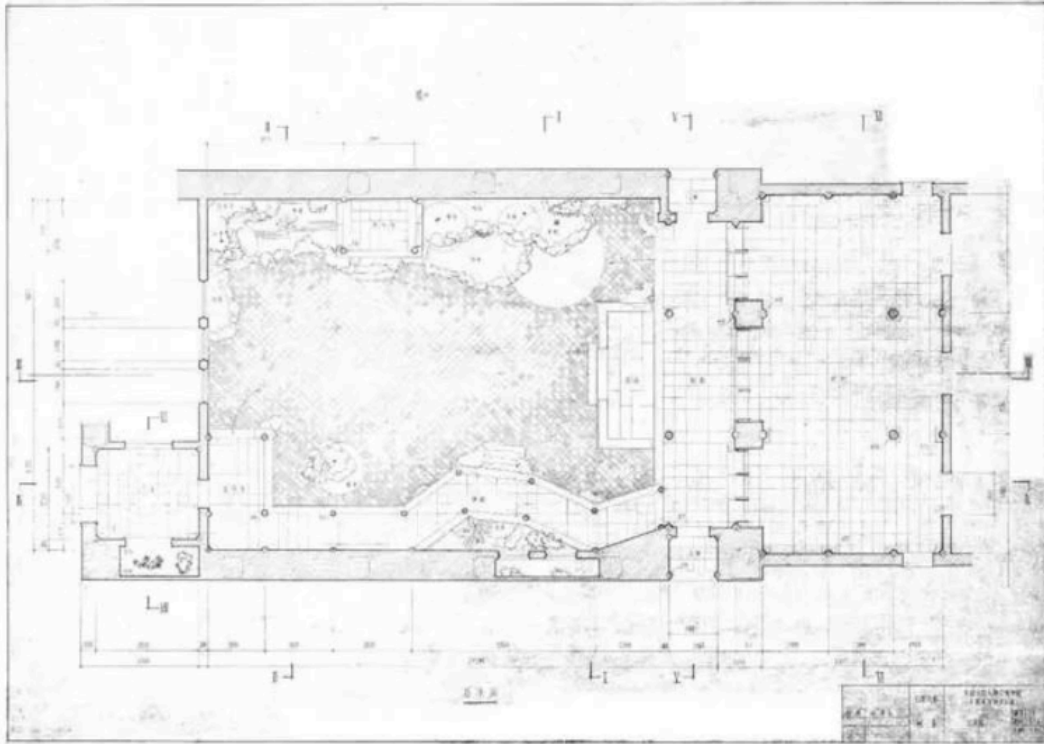


Fig. 3-20 The layout of Wangshi Garden, note that the land of Dianchu Yi courtyard used to be part of the water body (top); layout showing the location of Ming Xuan in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (center); the construction drawing showing the layout of Ming Xuan (bottom). Note the difference in between the shapes of the northern boundaries of the original and the replica. Suzhou Shi Chengxiang Jianshe Dang'an Guan 蘇州市城鄉建設檔案館 [Archive Library of the Construction of Suzhou Shi].



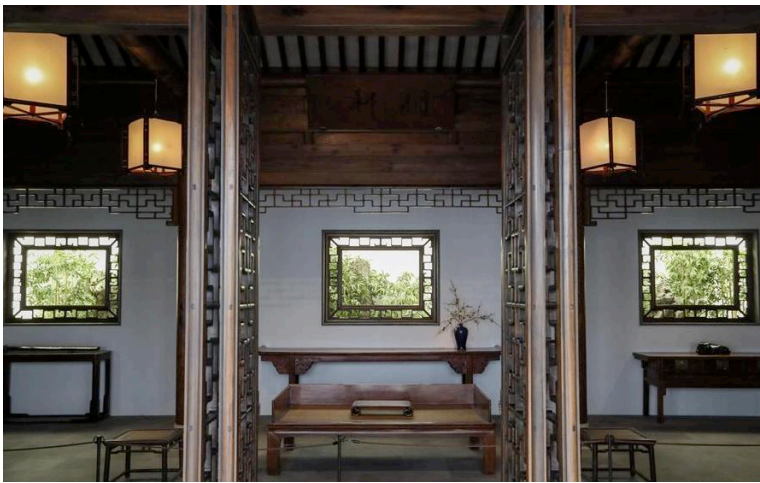


Fig. 3-21 The original views gained from inside of Dianchun Yi (top and center); the view gained from Ming Xuan (bottom).

### **Comparative Perspective: The Missed Modernism in Chinese Gardens and its Rediscovery from Yipu**

*A Comparative History of Modernism in China and Japan: The Years of 1933, 1953, 1972, and 1978*

In the process of receiving modernism from the Western world, several important moments were decisive for both China and Japan, and the divergent paths they went

through. The years of 1933, 1953, 1972, and 1978 were of the most significance. Differences existed in the development of modernist architecture in China and Japan, and, although it is hard to admit for most Chinese architects, were characterized by the unarguable advantage of the latter. Through selecting the key years from the history which was before a totality of discursive narratives, this section aims to provide a clearer clue of how these moments have step by step prompted and demarcated the distinct agendas of the enculturation of modernism in architecture in these two countries, and thus to reflect the loss of modern Chinese architecture and the historical study of Chinese architecture. The role Chinese garden has played in receiving modernism from the Western world, which has never been revealed by previous scholarship, will be paid particular attention.

1933 is a year in which both Chinese and Japanese traditional architecture found a chance to expose themselves to the world in the context of modernism. In this year, Taut visited Katsura. His presence and praise pacified the previous debate between the advocates for *teikan* style and those for modernism, and allowed the latter to get the upper hand. In the same year, the replica of the Golden Temple of Jehol was exhibited at the Chicago Fair and was interpreted as emblematic of the authentic Chinese traditional building. In this fair, the competition between two proposals for the Chinese pavilion, one by the American architect Henry Murphy and one by Tong Jun, Xu Jingzhi and Wu Jingqi, ended with a confirmation of the former and the degrading of the latter by the committee. History seems to have presented two interesting dyads over the two events, Taut's visit to Katsura and Chinese presentation at the Chicago Fair.

On the homeland of Japan, a *shoin* style residence was first certified by a world-renowned authority on modernist architecture who was immediately caught by the visual resemblance of *shoin* style buildings to modernist architecture. At an overseas international fair, an arguably “Chinese” religious hall of large scale gained the fame of “authentic Chinese architecture” under the foreign sponsorship prompted by a foreign sinologist with the intention of preserving Tibetan heritage (table. 3-2). The locale of the fair made the authenticity of the exhibit the primary value, although the fair originally had the aim of “redefining and promoting a new modern architectural idiom not only in America but in the world at large.” Although the structural resemblance between the exposed posts and beams of the Golden Hall and a modernist architecture was not difficult to catch, the overseas context of the fair made the first chance for the potential of traditional Chinese architecture to be discovered by modernism missed. To what extent the international audience read modernity out of the Golden Hall remained questionable, but it was natural that a Buddhist space was unfamiliar to most Americans both in their daily and spiritual lives. They may even have had no intention of reading it from a modernist perspective, no matter if the hall and a modern structure share the same structural logic. The residential origin of modernist architecture may have also taken part in the inevitable ignorance about the potential of the Golden Hall being recognized from a modernist perspective.

	Katsura	Golden Hall of Jehol
authenticity	original	replica
building type	<i>shoin</i> style residence	great timber religious hall
locale	at home	overseas
prompter	Japanese modernist architects	Swedish explorer
critic	individual architect	international viewers/ fair committee
comments	functionalist masterpiece according to the measure of modern architecture	authentic traditional Chinese
modern traits	visual resemblance	structural logic

Table. 3-2 The dyad of the encounters of Japanese and Chinese traditional architecture in the events of 1933 under the context of modernist architecture.

The second dyad exists in the two countries' pursuit of the national expressions in their new architectures. Competitions between the revivalist design and the newly emerged modernist design in these two countries could both take the year of 1933 as a turning point (fig. 3-22). On Japan's side, Taut's appreciation of Katsura imbued great confidence to the advocates of modernist architecture and effectively merged the search for the "Japanese-ness" and the modernist expression into one notion. The result was the fading of the revivalist design after the 1930s and the diverse approaches appeared within the modernist camp. A continuous searching for "Japanese-ness" in modernist expression including Horiguchi's "style without style" for the following a few decades was then initiated within Japan, exempted from the external judgment before its full maturity. On China's side, Murphy's quasi-revivalist design, which from today's perspective was with

some problematic understandings of the “genuine” Chinese architecture, was given more positive comments by the organizers than the proposal by the Chinese architects. The initial attempt by the first-generation Chinese modernist architects to represent “Chinese-ness” was unfortunately suppressed in the international context. In the year of 1933, Chinese architects indeed did not have enough time to digest and develop the notion of the modernist expression of “Chinese-ness” before getting on the international stage. The concept of the proposal by the Chinese architects has highly resembled Horiguchi’s Shien-Sō -- pure traditional language was straightforwardly set next to pure modern language and thus created “a style without style,” but fully exposed to the international gaze, it cannot be considered with the experimental spirit, but rather as a coarse juxtaposition of different styles. The fail of the first attempt seems to be doomed under the pressure of a foreign expectation. It is also worth mentioning that the official definition of the “international style” did not come out until 1932, only one year before Tong Jun started his career at Huagai as an architect.

Japan	China
-modernist architecture became the main stream	-modernist and revivalist expressions became parallel
-the unification of the searching for “Japanese-ness” and modernist expression	trajectories (Liang Sicheng and Tong Jun)
-architects’ practice with the same aim of expressing “Japanese-ness” in modernist architectures shows great diversity (Tange and Horiguchi)	-modernist architects stop searching for the “Chinese-ness” in modernist expressions (Tong Jun)

Table. 3-3 The dyad existed in China and Japan after 1933 regarding the relationship between revivalist design and modernist design

The year of 1953 is another memorable juncture for both China and Japan. In this year, a replica of the Kyakuden of Kōjōin was exhibited in MoMA with a clear intention to invite Japanese residential culture to contribute to the modernism of the world. The American reception of this building, reflected in the successive critical articles, fulfilled such a goal. Ironically, it is during the same year that Liang Sicheng published his article “National form, socialist content,” which signified his return to revivalist design. However, not even a year later such design was again criticized as the imperial-era “giant roof” which was too expensive and would cause too much waste, especially under the economic circumstances of current socialist society. This sharp turn had a lot to do with the sudden break of relations with the Soviet Union whose keen instruction in the former period had directly led Liang back to the Beaux-Arts revivalist approach. It was around 1953 to 1954 that Liang fell into a sorrowful confusion. He totally lost confidence in himself as an expert in architectural design.<sup>215</sup> To an extent, it is his American training which was supposed to be part of the source of his confidence in the professional field that made his standpoint against “American imperialism” seem unstable to the government. The year 1953 brought China and Japan into two very different situations regarding how traditional building could and should inspire modern design. On an international stage where the notion of modernist architecture was defined, Japan had the *shoin* style from the architectural tradition that contributed Japanese inspiration to modernist architecture; in the domestic environment of China, the model of great timber structure Liang Sicheng established as the potential connection to modernist architecture was underdeveloped under the pressure of the instructions from the Soviet Union. What

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<sup>215</sup> Zhu, *Liang Sicheng*.

was worse, the revivalist approach which was first brought back by the national authority once again faced another round of harsh criticism, which left the two paths for the Chinese traditional timber structure as the inspiration sources of modernist architecture no chance to be further explored.

1953 was also the year the Zhongguo Jianzhu Xuehui 中國建築學會 [Architectural Society of China] was established. The emblem of the society was designed in 1980, which stood out from more than 3000 proposals, and is still in use today. A bracket set in the simplest form *yidou sansheng* 一斗三升 [one *dou* and three *sheng*] is inside a cube box in diagonal view, standing for modernism, representing the goal of the society: to find China's own approach in modernism. Sadly, choosing the symbolic bracket set to indicate the search for the "Chinese-ness" in architecture, recorded a timely response to the post-modernist approach flourished in the entire 1980s China's architecture (fig. 3-22).



Fig. 3-22 Emblem of Architectural Society of China, 1980-present. Designed by Wu Mingwei 吳明偉.

If Japan could be considered to have established a clear consciousness about the potential of the *shoin* style building to be internationally identified as a unique source of



modernism, China had not yet developed an effective connection between its residential culture and modernist architecture at this stage. Lin Huiyin had realized the potential and importance of the study of *minju* 民居 [vernacular residence] as early as the 1930s when Yingzao Xueshe temporarily moved their base to Lizhuang 李莊, Sichuan 四川, to be away from the war-influenced areas. It was around the same time that Tong Jun started his study of Chinese gardens. But partially due to the turmoil of the war, his book *Jiangnan Yuanlin Zhi* which he finished in 1937 was not published until the 1980s. We cannot imagine what kind of influence this book would have had on the study of Chinese gardens and modern architectural design if it was published right after Tong completed it, but we do understand that Tong's garden study has paralleled with his practice, in terms of time and his architectural thinking, instead of being taken as the inspiration for his design. Garden study remained as his personal interest enjoyed in his spare time, perfectly echoing his unique characteristics as a proud, old-school literatus. Other garden studies instructed by architecture departments in the universities of the Jiangnan area, led by former members or students of Yingzao Xueshe, were with no exceptions following the research methodologies established by Liang Sicheng and Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨 for the survey of large-scale timber structures.<sup>216</sup> In Japan, Horiguchi's study of the history of Japanese dwellings embarked around the same period with Tong. In 1936, He published "Chashitsu no shiyō teki haikei to shikōsei" 茶室の思想的背景と其構成

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<sup>216</sup> Examples include:

Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨. *Suzhou Gudian Yuanlin* 蘇州古典園林 [Classical gardens of Suzhou]. Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe 中國建築工業出版社, 2005.

Tongji Daxue Jianzhu Gongcheng Xi Jianzhu Yanjiushi 同濟大學建築工程系建築研究室. *Suzhou Jiuzhuzhai Cankao Tulu* 蘇州舊住宅參考圖錄 (unpublished), 1958.

[Background and structure of the idea of tea house].<sup>217</sup> But different from Tong, Horiguchi's study of the Japanese dwelling exerted great influence upon his own design and that of other Japanese architects.

Later on, the criticism of the “giant roof” suddenly brought the discussion around the question of “what Chinese modernist architecture should be like” back to the starting point in 1933 when the struggle between the revivalist and the modernist design was ongoing. Japan soon passed this phase in the 1930s with the victory of the modernists, China in 1954 went back to discuss the legitimacy of the revivalist giant roof. After 1933, Japan had already established its own path of searching for the “Japanese-ness” around the subject of the traditional residence; in China, scholarly attention on its traditional residence, although started around the same period as in Japan, was unfortunately excluded from the subject of modernist architecture. The study of the vernacular residence and garden relied mainly on survey works, with a dominant methodology transplanted from the survey of great timber structures established in Yingzao Xueshe. Tong's garden study, although distinguished from his peer studies, remained ignored in the field of architectural theory and architectural design.

The year of 1972 was another point that should be marked in the development of modernist architecture in China. In this year, Liang Sicheng passed away, bringing all of his struggles and confusions of the second half of his life with him. His death ended a

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<sup>217</sup> Horiguchi Sutemi, “Chashitsu no shiyō teki haikai to shikōsei,” 茶室の思想的背景と其構成 [Background and structure of the idea of tea house] in *Kenchiku Yōshiki Ronsō* 建築様式論叢 [Discussions on architectural styles] ed. Itagaki Takao, Horiguchi Sutemi (Tōkyō: Rokumonkan, 1932).

period of the hard endeavor of the first-generation architects searching for the answers to the problem of “Chinese-ness” in architecture. In the same year, the United States and China revived diplomatic relations which also opened a narrow aperture for the light of modernist architecture coming in. Ironically, in this year, Charles Jencks announced the death of modern architecture. Once again, China missed modernism.<sup>218</sup>

When I. M. Pei, as the Chinese-born American architect, returned to his home country and designed the Xiangshan Hotel 香山飯店 in 1979, he believed he had provided a model for Chinese architects to follow and study because this project had organically imbued the elements of a Chinese garden into a modernist design. As much as he claimed himself the last defender of modernist architecture, in this project, the application of Tibetan style decorations and symbols all over the hotel facades showed a strong will to speak to the upcoming post-modernism (fig. 3-23). To an extent, his success in China echoed Murphy’s fifty-five years earlier. With an identity as a world-renowned American architect, to the Chinese officials, his Chinese origin seems to have guaranteed a deep understanding and mastery of the Chinese garden.<sup>219</sup> However, as one of the hotels jointly financed by foreign capital around that time, such as Jianguo Hotel 建國飯店, Jingling Great Hotel 金陵大酒店, and Changcheng Hotel 長城飯店, Xiangshan Hotel was built primarily to meet the needs of China’s foreign guests and their “Chinese

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<sup>218</sup> Dong Yugan in his article “Dashi yu zhongguo,” 大師與中國 [The masters and China] first pointed out the importance of this year in Chinese modernist architectural history.

<sup>219</sup> For more criticisms on the design of the garden, see Dong Yugan, “Dashi yu zhongguo,” 大師與中國 [The master and China], *Wenxue Jiang Shasi Jianzhu* 文學將殺死建築 [Literature will kill architecture], ed. Dong Yugan (Beijing: Zhongguo Dianli Chubanshe, 2007).

tastes.” Not all Chinese citizens at that time could afford or easily walk into hotels like this.<sup>220</sup> To an extent, selecting Pei to be the chief architect of Xiangshan Hotel is perfectly appropriate. Living in the U.S. for his entire career, Pei understood how exactly the project’s clients, mostly foreigners, wanted to be accommodated, as well as what kind of expression of the Chinese tastes they would understand and appreciate.



Fig. 3-23 Rear façade of the Xiangshan Hotel, I. M. Pei, 1979.

In 1978, China first exported a “genuine” garden, the Ming Xuan Project, to the outside world. The aim was to provide a chronologically correct authentic background for the exhibition of a group of Ming Dynasty furniture acquired by Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. An intact Chinese garden with a relatively early date among the extant Suzhou gardens to be piece by piece exported to New York and reassembled in a museum reminds us of the exhibition of the Kyakuden of Kōjōin at MoMA some twenty

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<sup>220</sup> Cole Roskam, “Envisioning reform: the international hotel in postrevolutionary China, 1974-1990,” *Grey Room*, vol. 58, (2015): 84-111.

years earlier. However, with a clear goal of providing the appropriate background for the Ming antiques, the chronological date seems to be the primary standard for Dianchun Yi to be selected as the model of the replica. But it could have been any Ming garden. If the size of Yipu was not too large to be fit into an interior space, or if there were no ponds, it could also have been selected. The location of the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art instead of MoMA itself indicated a different goal of this event from the export of the Kyakuden of Kōjōin. It was not to provide any inspiration for modernist architecture, but rather to be considered an authentic Ming Dynasty national treasure, just like the Golden Hall of Jehol in the 1933 Chicago Fair.

*Searching for the Models: Key Notions in Interpreting Katsura and Yipu*

On the way of searching for the “Chinese-ness” and “Japanese-ness” in modernist architecture, several key models of traditional architecture including Katsura, Ise Jingu, “the Chinese great timber structure,” “Chinese garden,” etc. in the two countries have been established for discussions. Among various perspectives that formed the entity of the architectural discussions of these models, those from the functionalist, structural rationalist, the visual, the physical, the spatial, and the performative perspectives are of great significance.

If we were to periodize the seeking of the “Chinese-ness” and “Japanese-ness” regarding the shift among the above-mentioned perspectives, two major phases could be identified. During the first phase, roughly around the 1930s, China and Japan both have undergone a

struggle between the advocates of the revivalist style design and those who tended to embrace modernist architecture. It was from the second phase that Japan's and China's paths began to branch. Before the 1930s, in Japan, in contrast to the *teikan* style group, Taut's discussion around Katsura was from a functionalist point of view, whereas in China, in contrast to the revivalist approach, Tong's modernist thinking, which was without a fixed monument to be selected as the model from the traditional buildings, represented a material and technological rationalist perspective.

It will be difficult not to notice the many similarities that existed between Tong and Horiguchi and their works that stood out in the 1930s debates. Not only did they share unsociable characteristics, their research fields and architectural thinking were also comparable. As the first modern scholar of the Chinese garden, Tong spent most of his spare time in the 1930s researching the Jiangnan garden while he practiced in Huagai; Horiguchi, as an architect, initiated the study of traditional Japanese residences around the same time and had also actively practiced as an architect at that time. If one remembers the second proposal for the Chinese pavilion in the 1933 Chicago Fair in which Tong was one of the three designers, and their operation of the direct juxtaposition of modern style and traditional Chinese elements, one would certainly recall Horiguchi's House of Purple Haze, where he directly juxtaposed the Japanese tea house and a modernist style and his famous phrase: "a style without style."

However, the initial endeavor of modern Chinese architects experienced harsh comments, for it was too early exposed to the international gaze. It would be interesting to imagine

the international response if Horiguchi's House of Purple Haze was exhibited at the Chicago Fair. What was expected to be exhibited in that fair was either authentic or advanced, to be more straightforward, either purely exotic or the mature modernist expression. Such expectation gave the Golden Hall of Jehol and Murphey's proposal more credit. How to combine the "authentic" and the "advanced" in one design was a new question to the young Chinese architects at that time. Modernism in the 1930s was a new notion even for many American architects, not to speak of Chinese architects, most of whom received their education in the United States. In Japan, Taut's visit to Katsura in 1933 was to a great degree also an external gaze, but this event was held in a domestic environment, and the visited monument was on its original site which automatically guaranteed its authenticity. Then, whether it was "advanced" or not from a modernist perspective became the only question. Taut confirmed that without a doubt. This event effectively prevented Japan from being too early exposed on the international stage before sophisticated answers to the question of "Japanese-ness" in modern architecture were well prepared. Two decades later, the exhibition of the Kyakuden of Kōjōin at MoMA signified a periodic result of the thinking on such an issue, although the exhibition was initiated by Americans.

In the second phase, discussions in Japan about the "Japanese-ness" in modern architecture moved on toward the discussions about the "performative," "spatial," versus "objective," "compositional," which were first proposed by Hamaguchi. This is a reflection of Taut's discussions on Katsura which was from a perspective inevitably influenced by the visual tradition of the West. Although Taut already found that the space

of Katsura is inseparable from the Japanese living style, it was through Hamaguchi and Horiguchi's theorization and practices that the performative aspect of Japanese space was fully discovered. In this process, the environment of the Japanese buildings, the garden, was brought into the discussion. From then on, Japan established a unique interpretation of "monumental;" it has to be read and comprehended in respect to the dimension of time and human activities in the space. Then, the suitability between certain living styles and the spatial forms in the *shoin* style building not only accords with functionalist standards but is beyond the pure functionalist standards. In *shoin* style buildings, the spiritual and ceremonial activities, which could also be considered special functions that require a certain spatial form to be performed, were fitted into the same spatial form in which other daily functions are carried out. This phenomenon was indeed very rare in the Western architectural tradition.

China would have had the chance to develop a similar path with Japan in the process of searching the "Chinese-ness" from its residential tradition. Whether the negative comments about the first attempt to combine Chinese elements and modernist language influenced the direction of Chinese architectural design is unknown, but at the end of the 1930s, Tong completely separated the two issues, the "Chinese" and the "modern." The experiment of searching for "Chinese-ness" from the Chinese garden was suspended or never inaugurated. On the other hand, Liang established a model based on the great timber structure from which he thought he found the connection of traditional Chinese architecture to modernist architecture in the "post and beam" framework shared by the two types of structure. If Liang's establishment for the great timber structure was related



to his education in the late Beaux-Art system in which structural rationalism was a critical part, his historical thinking about Chinese architecture, which is mainly about the development and evolvement of this model was largely influenced by the Darwinist historical concept, flourishing at that time.<sup>221</sup> China's urgent situation to discover and preserve extant national treasures has, from the external, legitimized Liang's evaluation standards of timber structures: the earlier, the better. However, as Zhu Tao has analyzed, Liang did not further develop the connection of the great timber structure to modernist architecture. They did not ask the question of how "Chinese-ness" could be reflected in a building constructed with a modern framework. Political turbulence is a large part of the reason, but the result was that Chinese architects needed to accept, after the 1930s, that China was not able to walk out of the debate around the legitimacy of revivalist architecture, and did not enter into the second phase to discuss the performative and temporal dimension of traditional architecture. Neither Liang's model of the great timber structure nor Tong's garden study led China onto the path of modernist architecture.

The problem was not in Liang's model itself. In reality, establishing an abstracted model, in comparison to Katsura, which is a real, physical object, has its advantages. It could effectively avoid those irrelevant collateral factors and details involved in architectural discussions. Katsura's identity as the imperial family's property once became the reason for it being the legitimized model of the design when Tennō's power was intended to be presented in the Japan Cultural Center competition in Bangkok; but after World War II, this identity immediately became the point to be avoided in discussions. An established

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<sup>221</sup> Zhu, *Liang Sicheng*, 4-16.

model will not incur such problems. On the other hand, choosing a real building as the model also has its advantages. It could provide a platform for continuous discussion. From 1933 till today, at least six monographs focused on Katsura have been published, by architects, architectural historians, and garden historians. Whereas Tange's application of the Katsura model allowed him, again and again, to produce great modernist works, Horiguchi's study of Japanese residences, which also stemmed from Katsura, opened a new page for finding the "Japanese-ness" in traditional architecture, and further benefited modernist design in Japan and the world.

Around the year 2000, individual Chinese architects and their works started to become core subjects of the study of China's modernism. Research questions returned to the field of architecture itself. Before that time, architecture was usually considered a dependent subject extended from the research on the modern development of the cities of China.<sup>222</sup> It might not purely be a coincidence that in 2000, Wang Shu's adoption of the model of Yipu was shifted from partly following its compositional scheme of volumes (Wenzheng Project) and viewing architecture as objects, toward a performative interpretation- *weizhi jingying* 位置經營 [positional arrangement] (Xiangshan Project), which considers the positioning of the buildings a result of responding to the pre-existing volumes, positions, and poses the mountains and water bodies, which could only be sensed by living in the

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<sup>222</sup> Li Yingchun 李穎春. "Zhongguo Jindai Jianzhushi Yingwen Yanjiu Zongshu" 中國近代建築史英文研究綜述 [Literature review of English scholarships on the history of modern architecture in China]. *Zhongguo Jindai Jianzhushi* 中國近代建築史 [History of modern architecture in China], edited by Lai Delin, Wu Jiang 伍江, and Xu Subin 徐蘇斌. Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 2016.

buildings and the environments.<sup>223</sup> The boundaries between buildings and the landscape elements were intentionally blurred. From that year, China finally entered into the second phase that has been awaited for too long: finding and expressing the “Chinese-ness” in modern architecture.

Wang Shu pointed out a concept, the “literati’s building,” which was gained from his garden study. He claimed that if architects want to design quality Chinese architecture, they should first live like traditional scholars. But certain architectural questions were beguiled and blurred by this statement. If one were cultivated as a traditional scholar to be able to paint, write poems, drink, and excel as a calligrapher, does all that promise that he can design great Chinese architecture? No matter whether Wang Shu’s suggestion will be helpful to China’s future architectural education, from another perspective, for the study of architectural history, the compatibility between the literati’s living styles, daily activities, and their living spaces, the garden, may be an interesting direction to develop.

If Taut’s comments on Katsura in 1933 could be considered a starting point and the initiator of Horiguchi and his successors’ study on Japanese residential buildings and environment, the exhibition of the modified replica of the guest house of Kōjōin in MoMA finalized a period of Japanese architects’ searching for the “Japanese-ness” and gave a confident answer to themselves and to the world. The primal model of Chinese residence was first reflected in Tong’s interpretation of the Chinese character “yuan” 園

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<sup>223</sup> Tong Ming 童明, “Lixing yu lijing (san): Wang Shu de wenben jiqi jianzhu,” 理型與理景(三)——王澐的文本及其建築 [Composing and depicting(III): an analysis on the text and architecture of Wang Shu], *Jianzhushi* 建築師 [The Architect] (Aug 2013): 46-59.

[garden] in which the radical 口 symbolizes the surrounding defense or the wall, the radical 土 an artificial mountain, the small 口 a pond, and the rest the plants. Although such interpretation cannot be considered to have any paleographical precision, it illustrated an important concept in design, that a Chinese garden should at least have been an enclosed space, with an artificial mountain, a pond, and some plants in it. And a zhai 宅 [residence] could not be considered complete if it is without a garden. Wang Shu's comments on Yipu -- "It is a very simple garden, simple but following the way" -- echoes with this concept. It is from the moment that Wenzheng was modeled after Yipu that more than seventy years of searching for the "Chinese-ness" in architecture finally came close to the answer. Yet Wenzheng was probably just the beginning. It will probably need another thirty years, after the period from 1972 to 2000, for China to gain as much confidence about its own residential culture as Japan has for its *shoin* style buildings. Unlike Japan, where the study of the history of houses takes nearly one-third of the total amount of the study of architectural history, China's self-awareness of the value of its residential culture has just begun. In recent years, the study of vernacular architecture became a hot topic of scholarly research; but one should be aware that the research of the later period, extant vernacular buildings, villages, mostly of the commoners, cannot be equal to the residential history of China in which residences of nobles and elites take cardinal parts. As in Japan, *minka* 民家 is a completely different subject from the *shinden* and *shoin* style buildings. The existence of a top-down scheme is undeniable, especially when it comes to the discussions of house prototypes. Therefore, records, surveys, social, economic and anthropological study of the extant vernacular buildings and villages,

cannot stand for the residential history of China, neither can the study of the garden. As part of the residential tradition, the Chinese garden needs to shake off the identity of the symbol of “spiritual world” and return to the discussions on the everyday level. Chinese residential tradition is an important source, parallel to the great timber structure for Chinese architects, for continued search for the “Chinese-ness” in modernist architectural design.

## CONCLUSION

### LINGERING QUESTIONS ABOUT TRADITION AND HISTORY

#### **Garden History and Garden Theory**

This dissertation is a case study of the Suzhou Garden Yipu which develops its discussions in three main chapters. The first chapter aims to exhaust all the currently available materials including historical texts, paintings, gazetteers, city maps and on-site evidence, to establish Yipu's physical configurations in history, namely, what Yipu looked like and how it changed in the past. The result is presented in five reconstructed layouts of Yipu matching five phrases, which are Yuan Zugeng's Zuiying Tang (1558-1590), Wen Zhenmeng's Yaopu (1620-1646), the Jiang family's Yipu (1660-1696), the post-Jiang-phase (1696-1982) Yipu, and Yipu in modern times (1982-1999). The most significant shrinkage of the property's periphery that directly results in the current configuration of Yipu took place between 1726 to 1835 during the post-Jiang phase. Although the first chapter endeavors to analyze the materials and reconstruct the layouts of the property as accurately as it can, the results are subject to modification if more evidence is discovered in the future. However, this chapter strongly challenges the previous scholarship that considered Yipu a Ming Dynasty garden in its integrity, and emphasizes that such a statement is related to the event that Yipu was to be added to the Extended List of the World Heritage Suzhou Gardens around the year 2000.

The second chapter shifts the perspective from the history of the physical configuration of Yipu toward the history of its perception, namely, how Yipu has been described and

conceived by contemporary people of each phase and the afterward. According to Yipu's changing perceptions, this chapter re-periodizes the former five phrases into three, which are: 1, former phase 1 to 3 as scholar gentlemen's houses for moral lineage inheritance; 2, former phase 4 as a semi-public social venue; 3, former phase 5 as a controversial masterpiece of the Ming garden design. In addition, this chapter extends the timeline into the contemporary, which is from 1999 until today, and adds one more phrase after the original five in which Yipu was discussed as the model of Chinese modern architectural design. This phrase prepares for the discussions in the third chapter about the role of Yipu as a modernist legacy in the context of modernist architecture. Among all existing case studies of the history of Suzhou gardens, this chapter is a pioneer attempt to periodize the history of a garden in perception. Differentiating this part of the history from the traditional research of a garden's building history allows me to emphasize that the way a garden had been accessed, understood, narrated, conceived, imagined, and reinterpreted forms an integrated entity of discussion that is equally important to the physical history of a garden's buildings and rockeries. This part of history is exactly where garden theory comes from. Narrators in the history saw, commented on, and criticized a garden with their own perspectives, which encompass diverse opinions and explicit judgments without being obstructed by historical standards. For example, when one makes a judgment about how and why he likes Yanguang Ge to be arranged the way it is, he can choose not to be worried about when it was built or whether it is an authentic building in its entirety. The opinions and comments by all the narrators including literati owners, friends of them, the merchant owners, and the members of the Guild Office, as well as common citizens of Suzhou through the history become the research materials and

evidence for this chapter. If the research in the first chapter honestly applies the methods established by previous scholarship, and the result coming out of such research is ideally one that approaches the truth, this chapter is determined to provide a platform through a case study for the dialogue between “history” and “theory” in the field of garden study to begin (table. 4-1).

	Chapter I	Chapter II
perspectives	“history”	“perception”
periodization	1, Yuan Zugeng’s Zuiying Tang (1558-1590)	1, Literati’s house for moral lineage inheritance
	2, Wen Zhenmeng’s Yaopu (1620-1646)	
	3, The Jiang Family’s Yipu (1660-1696)	
	4, The post-Jiang phase (1696-1982) including Wu’s Yipu and Qixiang Silk Guild Office	2, A semi-public social venue
	5, Modern time Yipu (1982-1999)	3, A controversial masterpiece of Ming garden design
		4, The model of Chinese modern architectural design (1999-present)
materials	records in historical texts, paintings, gazetteers, city maps, and on-site evidence observed by the author	descriptions in historical essays, poems and travel diaries.



findings	reconstructed layouts showing the physical configuration of the property in each phrase and its transformation	understandings of how a garden was accessed, understood, narrated, conceived, imagined, and reinterpreted in each phrase
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Table. 4-1 Diagram showing the dialogue between Chapter I and Chapter II

The third chapter follows the idea developed in the first and second chapters and initiates a discussion about how garden study, including historical and theoretical study, has influenced and inspired modern architectural design and been involved in the history of modern architecture through a comparative study between Yipu and Katsura Imperial Villa. Katsura is a Japanese residence including a garden which holds the absolute significance in the making of Japanese modern architecture and the establishment of the history of residential architecture in Japan. Since the year 1999 when Wang Shu finished the design of the Library of Wenzheng College, Chinese modern architects have produced many designs taking Yipu as the model. However, in terms of the time this event was taking place, it is almost seventy years later than the Japanese architects started taking Katsura as the model to create modern works and to develop the discussion of “Japanese-ness” in architecture. Although difficult to admit, China to an extent had missed the opportunity to identify its own modernism by cherishing its own residential tradition, and still had been following the underdeveloped revivalist design trajectory until very recently. In contrast were Japan’s confident declaration and exportation of the model of their residential culture, the *shoin* style architecture, in the 1950s to the world modernism. Along with such actions had been its permanent and active engagement in

the world development of modern architecture afterward. To find out the reasons behind this contrasting phenomenon between Chinese and Japanese modernist architecture, this chapter establishes a comparative timeline between Japan and China and pinpoints a series of key moments and key figures that were influential in the course of China and Japan accepting, reacting to, and establishing their own concepts of modernism. By analyzing these key moments and figures, I argue that besides coincidental events such as that Taut visited the Katsura in Japan and highly appreciated it in 1933, and political reasons such as that Liang Sicheng was forced to go back to the revivalist trajectory but was criticized for it later in the 1950s, one of the crucial factors that resulted in the bifurcation of the paths of Japan's and China's modernism is Japan and China's different operations in terms of the relationship between historical study and theoretical study of residential architecture and garden.

Equally and separately examining the two parts of the history of a garden can help to clear the confusion that leads one to evaluate garden design with historical standards. In other words, certain design strategies of a garden should not be judged as good or bad only according to the garden's date and authenticity. To evaluate a design strategy requires the examiner to go back to the details in the history of the garden, and to find out the specific situation the designer was facing. Only after that can one make the judgment. Some evaluating standards can be exempt from the historical consideration, and continue to be applied regardless of the time. Such standards oblige garden scholars to trace and to analyze carefully, because they form the entity of garden making principles and theories,

and they are also the main contributors to the garden tradition which is to be developed and inherited in the future.

On the other hand, as much as I believe one should have a clear awareness of the differences between the two critical parts of the garden study, I still think the best situation for the development of Chinese modernism is that the identity as a garden historian and that as an architect are not to be separated. In other words, garden historians, especially those who focus on theoretical history, has the greatest advantage to use his research and knowledge to benefit his design. On this point, the third chapter compares Horiguchi Sutemi's and Tong Jun's experiences and design works, and concludes with an inevitable sigh that as a historian and an architect, if Tong's initial efforts in engaging the traditional elements into modern designs had not been immediately exposed in the international gaze in 1933 but continued to be prepared and carried on for a longer time in the domestic environment just like Horiguchi's works, China may have had a great opportunity to develop "China-ness" in modern architecture. The designs of the new generation architects in China who sufficiently benefited from Tong's theoretical legacies could be considered a late but potent continuation of Tong's works, initiated and signified by the rediscovery of Yipu.

## **The Lingering Question: Where does the Garden Tradition come from and Where does it go?**

The case study of Yipu in this dissertation allows me to address a more significant problem about historical architecture -- the tradition, and how tradition was developed, discovered, and is going to be continued in the future. The study of the changing perceptions of a garden, namely, how a garden was understood, is not only a crucial part of the garden history that deserves equal attention to its building history, but is also the ultimate mechanism for the garden tradition to be carried on. Remaining buildings and other garden elements provide precious historical examples and evidence that deserve to be carefully preserved, but it is the understanding of how design strategies and decisions were made that will eventually determine how a garden is to be preserved, repaired, renovated, or even rebuilt. Moreover, when it comes to a new project of making a garden, it is this part of research that would promise the tradition and the intellectual heritage of garden making to be inherited and revived in the form of quality designs. It is from these understandings, instead of the physical remains from which tradition comes; it is also the understandings that would to a great extent re-shape the physical configuration of our land.

However, when it comes to the conservation of a historical site, there always exists a dilemma: If the building date is the Ming Dynasty, and the remains are mostly the late Qing buildings, should we dismantle those remains and go back to the Ming Dynasty organization, especially when the evidence and funds are enough, and the Ming Dynasty happened to be the “golden age” of the site? For a garden, this question becomes even more

complicated because a garden includes not only individual buildings, mountains, and ponds, but also the relationships between each two of these elements. Each of the relationships also calls for the evaluation of its authenticity and quality. In Yipu's case, although Ruyu Pavilion is a late Ming artifact, its relationship to Yanguang Ge was not established in the late Ming. Not until Yanguang Ge was built in the late Qing Dynasty had the relationship between the large volume of Yanguang Ge and the small Ruyu Pavilion, and the dialect between Yanguang Ge as the viewing spot and Ruyu Pavilion as the object to be viewed formed. Such a relationship was later developed and represented by Wang Shu in Wenzheng Library. Therefore, how to balance the new design work adding to a historical site and the faithful preservation of the remains is always the tricky question that requires of an architect the maximum his insight and intelligence. If a renovation architect chooses the value of authenticity over everything and seeks for a garden design that matches with *Zhangwu Zhi*, Yipu should be revived in its Ming Dynasty configuration, and Yanguang Ge should be dismantled. If so, there would probably not be Wang Shu sitting in Yanguang Ge and inspired by Yipu for his design of Wenzheng. However, this is not to say that an architect can completely ignore the building history of a site and only follow his personal understandings of the current condition of the site. What Wang Shu understood about the relationship between Yanguang Ge and Ruyu Pavilion is, in fact, a general rule followed by generations of garden makers and painters -- a building is something to be viewed, but it is also something that provides a spot to stay and to view. The latter value is even more important than the former. For Wang Shu, Yanguang Ge and Ruyu Pavilion only provide another physical example of this principle that happened to suit the condition of the site

he encountered in Wenzheng Library. They can conveniently help to solve the problem Wang Shu met by then: a library requires a huge volume, but it needs to vanish in the landscape. His understanding is not merely personal but was based on long-term self-cultivation and immersion in Chinese arts and tradition. Just as he claimed, “To be a Chinese architect who builds true Chinese architecture, one needs to be a literatus first.” However, if anyone was assigned to repair Yipu instead of building a completely new project elsewhere, simply repairing it in the current configuration and still claiming the organization of the garden follows the Ming Dynasty style is misleading.

Therefore, I argue that the part of garden history on the thinking and the criticism level deserves equal attention from garden historians to the garden’s physical history. But this part of history should be built on a full comprehension and control of the physical history of the garden, meaning a complete knowledge of what was built, when, and for what purposes. For the garden redesign and repair, if a living tradition was to be represented and continued, merely a truthful, and “authentic” renovation of the garden back to any of the period in the history will not be enough. Later periods, including modern times and contemporary additions, should also not be deliberately avoided, but given a positive evaluation, if provided with reasonable interpretations that come from tradition. The evaluation standards of design could be only a few, but to fully understand any one of the standards would require multiple examples of the remaining gardens and more accurate historical research. One standard can generate more than one form of representations and examples, in the past and the future. This is also the reason why the passive “faithful” preservations of gardens cannot be equal to the “tradition”: it is only a collection of the

objects from the past that does not promise the continuation of the tradition. Those principles, which have repeatedly been applied to judge whether a garden is a superior garden or an inferior work, need to be abstracted from the criticisms on gardens, and exemplified by multiple cases. Such principles are always more important than any single style or specific form of a garden in terms of the revival of the garden tradition. If garden historians and Chinese architects were to work together and seek an outlet to keep the garden tradition alive from historical study, it should come from comprehensive research on the garden's physical history and its perceptions in the past.

## APPENDIX

### Appendix I. Important Years in the History of Yipu

1519, Yuan Zugeng was born.

1558, Yuan established Zuiying Tang when he was forty.

1574, Wen Zhenmeng was born.

1590, Yuan passed away at his seventy-one.

1594, Wen passed the village examination and became a *Gongsheng* when he was twenty.

1607, Jiang Cai was born.

1620, Wen Zhenmeng purchased the property and renamed it as Yaopu when he was forty-six.

1622, Wen gained the title of *Zhuangyuan* when he was forty-eight.

1636, Wen passed away at his sixty-two; Wen Bing inherited Yaopu.

1639, the publication of *Suzhou Fuchengnei Shuidao Tu* as an illustration in *Wuzhong Shuili Quanshu*.

1644, the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, Wen Bing sold Yaopu and moved into the mountain. Yaopu was abandoned and turned into a stable.

1660, Jiang Cai purchased the property when he was fifty-three. He renovated it and renamed it as Yipu.

1673, Jiang Cai passed away at his sixty-six. Jiang Anjie left Suzhou to observe mourning for his father in Shandong soon after that.

1696, Merchant Wu Bin purchased the property from Jiang Shijie

1823-24, Wu Chuanxiong purchased Yipu and renovated it.

1827, Wu Jingyun inherited Yipu at the age of twenty-seven.

1835, Wu Jingyun and others made *Yipu Yaji Tu*.

1836, Wu Jingyun died at the age of thirty-six.

1839, Yipu became the communal property of Qixiang Guild Office of Silk and underwent a thorough renovation.

1860, the Taiping troop invaded Suzhou. Hundreds of people committed suicide in the pond of Yipu.



1861-1875, the property was revived as Qixiang Guild Office of Silk, and Jingsi Ju was added.

1911, Qixiang Guild Office of Silk rented the buildings of the property to Suzhou, the area of Yipu was largely reduced.

1949, the property was turned into a school.

1950-1966, Suzhou Kunju Opera Group and Vernacular Crafts Manufacturing Company have successively occupied Yipu. Buildings in the garden were used as nurseries, factories, and warehouses; the residential part was turned into Suzhou citizen's houses for several families.

1966-1976, Yipu was severely destroyed.

1982-1984, Modern renovation of the garden part of Yipu

1999-2000, Modern renovation of the residential part of Yipu

2000, Yipu was inscribed on the Extended UNESCO World Heritage List of Classical Gardens of Suzhou.

2000, Yipu was modeled after by Wang Shu's Wenzheng project and many other modern architects' projects.

## Appendix II. List of the Old Maps of Suzhou, Based on Zhang Yinglin's "Map List" in SZGCDT, 11.

1229, *Pingjiang Tu* 平江圖 [Map of Pingjiang]. (The second year of the Shaoding period 紹定 of the Southern Song Dynasty).

1639, *Suzhou Fuchengnei Shuidao Tu* 蘇州府城內水道圖 [Map of Waterways in Suzhou]. (The twelfth year of Chongzhen reign 崇禎 of the Ming Dynasty).

1745, *Gusucheng Tu* 姑蘇城圖 [Map of Gusu]. (The tenth year of Qianlong reign 乾隆 of the Qing Dynasty).

1797, *Sujun Chenghe Sanhengsizhi Tu* 蘇郡城河三橫四直圖 [Map of Three Latitudinal and Four Longitudinal Watercourses in Suzhou]. (The second year of Jiaqing reign 嘉慶 of the Qing Dynasty).

1864-73, *Sucheng Dili Tu* 蘇城地理圖 [Map of Suzhou Geography]. (Between the third year and the twelfth year of Tongzhi reign 同治 of the Qing Dynasty).

1872-81, *Gusucheng Tu* 姑蘇城圖 [Map of Gusu]. (Between the eleventh year of the Tongzhi reign and the seventh year of Guangxu reign 光緒 of the Qing Dynasty).

1880, *Suzhoucheng Tu* 蘇州城圖 [Map of Suzhou]. (The sixth year of Guangxu reign of the Qing Dynasty).

1888-1903, *Suzhou Chengxiang Tu* 蘇州城廂圖 [Map of Suzhou City and Its Outskirts]. (Between the fourteenth year and the twenty-ninth year of Guangxu reign of the Qing Dynasty).

1896-1906, *Sucheng Quantu* 蘇城全圖 [A Complete Map of Suzhou]. (Between the twenty-second and the thirty-second year of Guangxu reign of the Qing Dynasty).

1908, *Suzhou Xunjing Fenqu Quantu* 蘇州巡警分區全圖 [Map of Suzhou Patrol District]. (The thirty-fourth year of Guangxu reign of the Qing Dynasty).

1913-1917, *Suzhou Fucheng zhi Tu* 蘇州府城之圖 [Map of Suzhou Prefecture]. (Between the second and the sixth year of the Republic of China).

1914, *Xince Suzhou Chengxiang Mingxi Quantu* 新測蘇州城廂明細全圖 [Newly Surveyed and Detailed Map of Suzhou and its Outskirts]. (The third year of the Republic of China).

1921, *Zuixin Suzhou Chengxiang Mingxi Quantu* 最新蘇州城廂明細全圖 [The Latest Detailed Map of Suzhou and its Outskirts]. (The tenth year of the Republic of China).

1927, *Zuixin Suzhoushi Quantu* 最新蘇州市全圖 [The Latest Map of Suzhou City]. (The sixteenth year of the Republic of China).

1931, *Suzhou Xinditu* 蘇州新地圖 [New Map of Suzhou]. (The twenty-seventh year of the Republic of China, also the thirteenth year of Shōwa period).

1938, *Zuixin Suzhou Ditu* 最新蘇州地圖 [The Latest Map of Suzhou]. (The twenty-seventh year of the Republic of China).

1940, *Wuxian Chengxiang Tu* 吳縣城廂圖 [Map of the Wu County and its Outskirts]. (The twenty-

ninth year of the Republic of China).

1943, *Zuixin Suzhou Youlan Ditu* 最新蘇州遊覽地圖 [The Latest Map of Suzhou Tourism]. (The thirty-second year of the Republic of China).

1949, *Zuixin Suzhou Ditu* 最新蘇州地圖 [The Latest Map of Suzhou]. (The thirty-eighth year of the Republic of China).

### Appendix III. List of Old Gazetteers of the City of Suzhou, Based on Wang Jin's LSYSX, 5.

1229, *Wujun Zhi* 吳郡志 [Gazetteer of the Wu Prefecture]. (Shaoding period 紹定 of the Song Dynasty)

1379, *Suzhou Fuzhi* 蘇州府志 [Gazetteer of the Suzhou Prefecture]. (Hongwu reign 洪武 of the Ming Dynasty).

1506, *Suzhoufu Zuanxiu Zhilüe* 蘇州府纂修識略 [Petitions, Edicts, and Events about the Suzhou Prefecture]. (The first year of the Zhengde 正德 reign of the Ming Dynasty).

1506, *Gusu Zhi* 姑蘇志 [Gazetteer of Gusu District]. (The first year of the Zhengde reign 正德 of the Ming Dynasty).

1529, *Wuyi Zhi* 吳邑志 [Gazetteer of the Wu County]. (Jiajing reign 嘉靖 of the Ming Dynasty).

1571, *Changzhouxian Zhi* 長洲縣志 [Gazetteer of the Changzhou County]. (Longqing reign 隆慶 of the Ming Dynasty).

1642, *Wuxian Zhi* 吳縣志 [Gazetteer of the Wu County]. (The fifteenth year of Chongzhen reign of the Ming Dynasty).

1684, *Changzhouxian Zhi* 長洲縣志 [Gazetteer of the Changzhou County]. (The twenty-second year of Kangxi reign 康熙 of the Qing Dynasty).

1691, *Suzhoufu Zhi* 蘇州府志 [Gazetteer of the Suzhou Prefecture]. (The thirtieth year of Kangxi reign of the Qing Dynasty).

1654-1722, *Wuxian Zhi* 吳縣志 [Gazetteer of the Wu County]. (Kangxi reign of the Qing Dynasty)

1745, *Wuxian Zhi* 吳縣志 [Gazetteer of the Wu County]. (The tenth year of Qianlong reign of the Qing Dynasty).

1748, *Suzhoufu Zhi* 蘇州府志 [Gazetteer of the Suzhou Prefecture]. (The thirteenth year of Qianlong reign of the Qing Dynasty).

1753, *Changzhouxian Zhi* 長洲縣志 [Gazetteer of the Changzhou County]. (The eighteenth year of Qianlong reign of the Qing Dynasty).

1761, *Yuanhexian Zhi* 元和縣志 [Gazetteer of the Yuanhe County]. (The twenty-sixth year of Qianlong reign of the Qing Dynasty).

1771-1803, *Wumen Bucheng* 吳門補乘 [Compensation of Suzhou Gazetteers]. (Jiaqing reign 嘉慶 of the Qing Dynasty)

1824, *Suzhoufu Zhi* 蘇州府志 [Gazetteer of the Suzhou Prefecture]. (The fourth year of Daoguang reign 道光 of the Qing Dynasty).

1834, *Wumen Biaoyin* 吳門表隱 [A Compensation of the Gazetteers of the Wu Area]. (The fourteenth year of Daoguang reign)

1869-1877, *Suzhoufu Zhi* 蘇州府志 [Gazetteer of the Suzhou Prefecture]. (The eighth year of Tongzhi reign to the third year of Guangxu 光緒 reign of the Qing Dynasty)

1882, *Suzhoufu Zhi* 蘇州府志 [Gazetteer of the Suzhou Prefecture]. (The eighth year of Guangxu reign of the Qing Dynasty).

1888, *Wu Jiangyu Tushuo* 吳疆域圖說 [Graphic Analysis of the Periphery of the Wu Area]. (The fourteenth year of Guangxu reign of the Qing Dynasty)

1902, *Wujun Dili Zhi* 吳郡地理誌 [Geography of the Wu Prefecture]. (The twenty-eighth year of the Guangxu reign of the Qing Dynasty)

1933, *Wuxian Zhi* 吳縣志 [Gazetteer of the Wu County]. (The twenty-second year of the Republic of China)

Republic China, *Song Pingjiang Chengfang Kao* 宋平江城坊考 [Investigation of the Fang Systems of

the City of Pingjiang in the Song Dynasty].

#### Appendix IV. Original Texts of the Frequently Referred Ming and Qing Dynasties Essays on Yipu

1659-1673, Jiang Cai 姜采. “Yipu Ji” 頤圃記. *Jingting Ji* 敬亭集 [Anthology of  
Jingting], *juan* six.

頤圃者，憲副袁公之故宅也。其地為姑蘇城之西北偏，距閶門不數百武。闔闔之冲，折而入杳冥之墟，地廣十畝，屋宇絕少，荒煙廢沼，疏柳雜木，不大可觀，故吳中士大夫往往不樂居於此，惟販夫佣卒編草為室。由其道以達於門，居之，宜不知憲副何取而有之？其後再歸相國文公，相國自為孝廉登巍科，陟翰苑，迄忤璫罷相歸，憂樂歌哭於斯。兩先生彪炳千秋，窮約不變，至今聞人墨士覽故老之遺文，對舊燕之巢幕，未嘗不望衡宇而歔歔，矚井臼而愀息也。己亥之夏，鼙鼓不靖，余踉蹌適吳，僦山塘之委巷，初不求承風訪蹟，竊芳躅於兩先生之末席。吾友芸齋周子，忽一日操券而至，於我乎處處。余謂凡天下之無所求而為之者，必天地之氣之相感，以成其心志之合。憲副四十投簪，耽情禽魚此地也，署曰“城市山林”。是非獨不求仕宦也，亦不求必入山林。相國杜門埽軌，屏居蒔植，亦此地也，署曰“葯圃”。是非獨不求三公之榮也，亦不求平泉之樂。余既無以謝周子，則更署之曰“頤圃”。在《易》之“頤”曰：“貞吉，自求口實。”夫求諸已而不求於人，庶幾兩先生之無所求而為之歟！聞之形家者言，八宅驪珠，次於離，當有文昌坐，位居者多貴而貧。相國每語人曰：“吾生平，命骨地脈使然。”夫兩先生之居其地也，無所求而為之，若夫處窮約，則兩先生心志之所存也。余不敏，不逮兩先生遠甚，惟處窮約則一。凡余之無所求而為之者，豈亦命骨地脈，叶天地感召之氣？然附兩先生之後塵，以自見其心志，則余之幸也夫？是為記。

Author's name lost. “Jiang Zhongzi Heke Zuiyingtang Yaopu Shiwen Ji” 姜仲子合刻  
醉穎堂藥圃詩文記 [on Jiang's Second Son Jointly Reprinting Poems and Essays on

Zuiying Tang and Yaopu]. Ren Jiyu 任繼愈. *Zhonghua Chuanshi Wenxuan* 中華傳世文選 [Selection of Inherited literature of China], “Qingchao Wenzheng” 清朝文征 [Qing Dynasty Collection], volume I. Jilin Renmin Chubanshe, 1998. 274.

崇禎間，萊陽姜先生由儀真縣令入給事垣，以極言時事觸上怒，杖闕下，謫戍宣州。先是，寄帑吳中，未及召還，而天下大亂。先生於是長為旅人，不歸故鄉。既二十年，始考室於要離墓下，縱橫數畝，屋一區，垂楊修竹，怪石方塘，不遠闌闔有山林之致，名曰東萊草堂。其先文肅公之藥圃，又其先則袁憲副之醉穎堂也。先生之仲子，讀書懷古，搜羅舊聞，得憲副《醉穎堂會記》及文肅公《藥圃》雜詩，合刻之為《東萊草堂故實》，而屬余為記。夫憲副早年謝事，盍簪飲觴者此地，文肅公暮年服政，憂讒畏譏者亦此地也。即文肅公一人始而屏跡杜門，焚香結課，海內望為傳野牆東者此也；既而池館不飾，樓台無地，指為平泉午橋者亦此地也。特憲副時，天下承平，士大夫得以優游山水，恣談風月。文肅公時，則不然矣。櫟人倭子，交害忠良；左帶黃巾，各仇廟社。賢人君子望白水而盟心，指青松以矢節。爵盈非飲醇之器，吟成有變雅之聲。至於今日，又何時也？世之君子，讀其詩文論其世而知其人，則東萊草堂之異於藥圃，藥圃之異於醉穎堂世也；醉穎堂之不異於藥圃，藥圃之不異於東萊草堂者人也。仲子之是刻也，豈特為詩文已哉？

1671, Gui Zhuang. “Ba Jiang Jijian Bian’e Hou” 跋姜給諫匾額後. Inscribed on the back of the plaque named “Chengshi Shanlin” by Gui Zhuang, invited by Jiang Cai. *Guizhuang Ji* 歸莊集 [Anthology of Gui Zhuang], *juan* four.

給諫萊陽姜如農先生，流寓吳中，所居乃故文肅公之藥圃。公以天啓壬戌狀元及第，崇禎中入閣，二月而罷歸。圃之名始於萬曆末年，公未及第之時，至今五十年有餘年矣，而藥圃之先為袁憲副繩之之居。憲副中嘉靖辛丑進士，強士之年，即棄官歸，以其居有池台花燭之勝，顏其楣曰城市山林。與袁安節公抑之、陳方伯子兼、馮撫州信伯輩，觴咏其中，自辛丑至今，蓋

百有三十餘年矣。今先生之流寓於吳，雖陵谷變遷，而此地之池台花燭，猶夫昔也。先生有慕前輩風流，追仍其故額，而命莊復書之。夫城市山林之為藥圃，此有明將衰之際也；藥圃之復為城市山林，則鼎遷而社屋久矣。望文肅之世，已如隆古，況憲副之時乎？知先生居此，不能無所感矣。然吾聞昔年萊陽之破，殺戮審慘，先生方以建言拜杖下獄，出獄之後，即避地江南，兵戈雲擾，幸得無恙，而栖遲於數畝之園，塵事不聞，俗客罕至，可以娛老，何必桃源、商山哉？書額訖，聊志數語於後。

1672, Gui Zhuang 歸莊. “Jingting Shanfang Ji” 敬亭山房記. [On the Jingting Mountain House], *Guizhuang Ji* 歸莊集 [Self-Collection of Gui Zhuang’s Writings], 1672, vol. 6.

萊陽姜如農先生之寓吳門，名其居曰敬亭山房，其仲子實節屬予為之記。徐叩其名山房之意，即以先生於崇禎間，以給諫疏劾宜興相國得罪，謫戍宣州衛，宣州有敬亭山，先生遂自號敬亭山人，因以名其居也。先生之疏已削稿，大略言其弄權納賄，引用邪黨，朋比為奸。時嘉魚熊大行亦疏劾宜興，烈皇帝以二人謗訕大臣，下詔獄，撈掠嚴酷，大臣力救，得移刑部獄，既擬謫戍，復各杖之百，垂斃，仍系之，後一年餘，始得釋。夫始不知輔臣之奸，故罪言者，然刑亦已濫矣；已而輔臣自敗，繫水加劍，既伏其辜，則劾者之言既驗，宜亟加褒賞，而猶久錮之獄，烈皇帝毋乃成見未化而吝於改過歟。熊公每言及先朝，不能無恨；而先生絕無怨懟君夫之心，國亡之後，猶不忘戍所，以敬亭為號，若曰：“我宣州之老卒也。”先生可謂厚矣。甲申京師之變，群臣攀龍髯而上者二十人，省垣惟新昌吳忠節公一人耳。使先生在任，其慷慨殉節，必不後於新昌；既已遣謫，則遁於荒野，亦可以自靖矣。青、齊故土，已先淪陷，故避地吳中而居山房，山房蓋相國文文肅公之故宅雲。夫宜興之敗也，以受東師之賄，而戒關門守將勿得加一矢，於是輜重兵馬安行出塞。宜興誅死，而已無救於敗亡。烈皇帝早聽忠言，豈至是哉！自甲申至今二十有九年矣。先生猶得以先朝遺老栖遲山房，以盡餘年，豈非幸歟！先生之不忘先朝，忠也；實節之求予記以表先生之節，孝也。予故推先生名山房之意而追及往事；若夫池

亭花石之勝，不過文氏舊觀，而宣州之故實，謝朓、李白之風流，又何足為先生道哉。

壬子三月日，昆山歸莊記。

1673, Wei Xi 魏禧. “Jingting Shanfang Ji” 敬亭山房記. *Weishuzi Wenji* 魏叔子文集 (外編) [Anthology of Wei Shuzi] (Enlarged Edition), *juan sixteen*.

登州姜如農先生有別業在吳門，曰敬亭山房。敬亭者，宣城之山也。蓋先生以直言忤旨廷杖，詔免死，戍宣州衛，未幾國變，先生曰：“吾不可以歸也。”轉徙浙東，久之僑吳門，得故相國文文肅公園居之，曰：“我宣州一老卒，君恩免死之地，死不敢忘。”遂以敬亭榜其堂云。當崇禎季年，先帝焦勞，銳于為治，臣下不稱任使，負上意，上寢疑羣臣不可信，而言路是非貿亂，一二言敢諫之臣，又多議論失平，或迂踈無裨實用，上數有貶斥，疾威之下，罰不當罪者有之。從古偏聽生奸，誅斥諫臣者往往至亡國。先帝不幸國亡，人每追咎于斥諫臣之故。然其得失，要當分別論列，不可徒徇君子虛名，全歸其過君父。先生同時有名臣，亦嘗論時相，退而補牘，與面奏語前後不相蒙，上震怒，以為欺罔，幾抵極刑，是以持兩端得罪，其事與先生不同，而國亡後猶悻悻然不能釋其懟怨，先生蓋不僅加人一等矣。先生抱膝讀書山房中，不與世事者三十年。有二子甚才，教以古人之學。予至吳，慕其義，先謁先生，而先生油油然和且直，又若未嘗身之為忠節然者。予因歎近世士大夫，登巍科，躋顯仕，則德其座主與主爵之吏，稍有降黜，則怨君父，至遷謫外地，乃悍然敢不至官，而大吏且以賢能稱職，首登薦疏，雖世所稱賢者亦不免。嗟乎，天子可貴人，不可賤人；可予人，不可奪人也，善則歸己，德則歸他人，而過與怨則歸君父，臣子之用，心當如是邪？先生名垞，中崇禎辛未進士，令儀真以最，擢禮科給事中。山房故美林水，前此為文肅公葑園，又前此為副使袁公祖庚之醉顚堂。三公者皆賢人，吾將比柳子之賀丘遭也，遂因仲君實節之請為之記。

歸元恭曰：“平心核實之言，至中至正，非苛論君子，亦非曲護君父也，而文之格力亦高。



After 1673, Wang Wan 汪琬. “Jiangshi Yipu Ji” 姜氏藝圃記. *Yaofeng Wenchao* 堯峰文鈔 [Anthology of Yaofeng], *juan* twenty-three.

藝圃者，前給事中萊陽姜貞毅先生之僑寓也。吾吳郡治西北隅，固商賈闐闐之區，塵囂湫隘，居者苦之，而茲圃介其間，特以勝著。圃之中，為堂（念祖堂、東萊草堂、暘谷書堂）、為軒（六松軒、改過軒、思嗜軒）者各三，為樓（四時讀書樂樓、諫草樓）、為閣（延光閣、綉佛閣）者各二。為齋（鱗飴齋）、為窩（愛蓮窩）、為居（香草居）、為廊（响月廊），為山房（敬亭山房），為池館（紅鵝館）、村（南村）、砦（鶴柴）、亭（乳魚亭）、台（朝爽台）、略約（度香橋）之屬者，又各居其一。子嘗取其大凡，則方廣而瀟灑者，莫如池；邐迤而深蔚者，莫如村；高明而敞達者，莫如山巔之臺；曲折而工麗者，莫如仲子肄業之館若軒。至於奇花珍卉，幽泉怪石，相與掩靄乎几席之下；百歲之藤，千章之木，干霄架壑；林棲之鳥，水宿之禽，朝吟夕弄，相與錯雜乎室廬之旁。或登於高而攀雲物之美，或俯於深而闚浮泳之樂，來游者往往耳目疲乎應接，而手足倦乎扳歷，其勝誠不可以一二計。蓋茲圃得名也久矣，圃之主人亦屢易。其始則有袁副使繩之，以高蹈聞於前；其次則有文文肅公父子，以剛方義烈著於後。今貞毅先生，復用先朝名諫官優游卒歲乎此，而其兩子則以讀書好士、風流爾雅者紹其緒而光大之。馬蹄車轍，日夜到門，高賢勝境，交相為重，何惑乎四方騷人墨士，樂於形諸詠歌，見之圖繪，訖二十餘年而顧益盛歟？不然，吳中園居相望，大抵塗飾土木，以貯歌舞，而誇財力之有餘，彼皆鹿鹿妄庸人之所尚耳，行且蕩為冷風、化為蔓草矣，何足道哉！何足道哉！

After 1673, Wang Wan. “Yipu Houji” 藝圃後記. *Tongzhi Suzhou Fuzhi* 同治蘇州府誌 [Gazetteer of Suzhou in the Tongzhi reign] *juan* forty-five.

藝圃從橫凡若干步，甫入門，而徑有桐數十本。桐盡，得重屋三楹間，曰“延光閣”。稍進，則曰“東萊草堂”，圃之主人延見賓客之所也。主人世居於萊，雖僑吳中，而猶存其顏，示不忘

也。逾堂而右，曰“饔飫齋”。折而左，方池二畝許，蓮荷、蒲柳之屬甚茂。面池為屋楹五間，曰“念祖堂”，主人歲時伏臘祭祀燕享之所也。堂之前為廣庭，左穴垣而入，曰“暘谷書堂”，曰“愛蓮窩”，主人伯子講學之所也。堂之後，曰“四時讀書樂樓”，曰“香草居”，則仲子之故塾也。由堂廡迤而右，曰“敬亭山房”，主人蓋嘗以諫官言事，謫戍宣城，雖未行，及其老而追念君恩，故取宣之山以誌也。館曰“紅鵝”，軒曰“六松”，又皆仲子讀書行我之所也。軒曰“改過”，閣曰“綉佛”，則在山房之北。廊曰“响月”，則又在其西。橫三折板于池上，為略約以行，曰“度香橋”。橋之南，則“南村”、“鶴柴”皆聚焉。中間垒土為山，登其巔稍夷，曰“朝爽台”。山麓水崖，群峰十數，最高為“念祖堂”相向者，曰“垂雲峰”。有亭直“愛蓮窩”者，曰“乳魚亭”。山之西南，主人嘗植棗數株，翼之以軒，曰“思嗜”，伯子（安節）構之，以思其親者也。今伯子與其弟，又將除“改過軒”之側，築重屋以藏主人遺集，曰“諫草樓”，方鳩工而未落也。圃之大凡如此。主人謂誰？前記所謂貞毅先生是也。以藝名其圃者，主人；而命子為之記者，仲子也。仲子名實節，字學在。餘悉載前記中，不復著云。

1677, Huang 黃宗羲. “Nianzutang Ji” 念祖堂記 [On the Hall of Memorizing Ancestors]. *Nanlei Wending* 南雷文定 [Self-Selected Anthology of Mr. Nanlei], *juan two*.

丁巳。吳門周子潔，不見者十餘年矣，丁巳中秋得其一札，乃為姜子學在求念祖堂記。念祖堂者，鄉墅先生之居也。先生家萊陽，僑寓吳門，不忘其本，故名堂以識之。昔周元公以營道之濂溪，識於匡廬；朱文公以婺源之紫陽，識於崇安，其義一也。然而先生則異於是。當崇禎壬午，小人造為二十四氣之謠，中傷善類，毅宗入其說，戒諭言官，謂言官論事，各有所為，不出公忠。先生言：“言官不能必其無私，然皇上不可以此厭薄言官。皇上所云代人規卸，為人出脫，何所聞之，豈於章奏知之耶？抑懸揣得之乎？願勿以委巷之言，搖惑聖聰。”上大怒，下之詔獄，密詔令金吾賜盡。金吾漏言，吾夫子面諍於上。上畏清議，止前詔，杖先生百，淹畱刑

部獄一載餘。甲申二月，遣戍宣州衛，未踰月而京師陷。先生不敢以桑海之故，弁髦君命，終身不返故居，卒塋於敬亭。君子曰：可謂仁之盡、義之至也。夫國破君亡，是非榮辱已爲昨夢，先生猶硜硜不變，自常人言之，未有不以爲迂者也。試揆之於義，朝廷無放赦之文，臣子營歸田之計，謂之不違得乎？故升菴歿於戍所，勢所不得不然。先生塋於戍所，勢可以不然，而義所不得不然者也。古人作事，未嘗艸艸。蘇武十九年而返，奉太牢謁武帝園廟；欒布從齊還，奏事彭越頭下，而後使事告終；先生下窆宣城，而後戍事告終。豈以幽明有間也？是之謂義至。南齊華寶父戍長安，寶年八歲，臨別謂寶曰：“須我還，當爲汝上頭。”長安既陷，父不得還，寶年至七十不婚，或問之，輒號慟彌日。毅宗不過朞月，必召用先生；毅宗之不得召用先生，猶寶父之不得爲寶上頭也。寶思父而終。不忍上頭；先生思主，而忍離戍所乎？是之謂仁盡。若以爲先生念其故居而已，粉社春秋，何所阻隔，行李往來，無人牽挽，棲棲旅人，似有簡書之畏者。蓋安故居則不能安此心，安此心則不能安故居，徘徊兩岐之間，先生之念亦苦矣，寧與周、朱可同論乎？斯堂也，爲文文肅歌哭之所。文肅之後，廢爲馬廐。馬廐之後，闢自先生。文肅爲烏程所忌，先生爲陽羨所陷，亡國之戚，兩相與有力焉，天下之興亡，係於一堂。余昔謁文肅，兩至其地，曲池怪石，低回欣賞，不知其可悲如是也。

1843, “Suzhou Fu wei Chouduan ye Sheju Juanji Tongye Jishi Li'an Bei” 蘇州府為  
綢緞業設局捐濟同業給示立案碑 [Announcement by the Suzhou Fu Government  
about Registering the Guild Office of Silk in Supporting the Craft Brothers].

特授江南蘇州府正堂加十級紀錄十次舒，為據情詳明立案事。奉布政司交札奉蘇撫部院孫批，該府詳職監胡壽康等設局捐濟綢緞同業善舉，立案遵守緣由。奉批：如詳立案，仰蘇州布政司會同臬司，飭即移行知照，給世曉諭，勒石遵守。仍將每年收支各數，造具征信錄，通送查考。繳。規條冊存。等因。到司。奉此。並據該府並詳前來，合就轉飭，仰給查照，另札遵行，仍候臬司批示。繳。規條冊存。等因。又奉署按察司積批開：如詳立案，即飭知照，仍將示式勒石，碑摩呈司查核，仍候撫憲暨藩司批示。繳。冊存。等因。各到府。奉此。查職監胡壽康等慕義設局，捐濟同

業，事屬善舉。其各店消貨捐厘，仍由浙莊按數扣交公局，亦屬至公。現奉各憲批准，除移嘉興、湖州二府，並札吳縣、吳江、震澤三縣一體示諭外，合就給示勒石遵守。為此示，仰各該地保及綢緞同業，以及在蘇消綢各莊等知悉：所有職監胡壽康等，經置房屋，作為公局，捐厘助濟綢業中失業貧苦、身後無備、以及異籍不能回鄉，捐資助棺，酌給盤費，置地設冢等善事，自當永遠恪遵。如有地匪人等，借端滋擾，以及年輕尚有可為，不應周恤之人，妄思資助，向局混索，許即指名稟候拿究。地保徇縱，察出並懲。各綢莊照議扣捐，亦毋以多交少，徇隱於咎。該董事務需秉公，妥為經理。各業舖亦當和衷共濟，以襄義舉，勿稍始勤終怠。仍將每年收支各數，造具征信錄，呈候通送各憲備案，並分送各捐戶查考，毋違。特示遵。

道光二十三年十二月二十六日示。

給七裏公局勒石拓摩。

1844, “Wuxian wei Hu Shoukang deng Sheju Juanji Chouduan Tongye Jishi Li'an Bei” 吳縣為胡壽康等設局捐濟綢緞同業給示立案碑 [Announcement by the Wu County Government for Hu Shoukang and others to Register the Guild Office of Silk and Support the Craft Brothers].

署理江南蘇州府吳縣正堂即補直隸州加級紀昉十（中缺）給示立案事。奉本府正堂舒憲札，奉布政司文札，奉蘇撫部院孫批，該府詳職監胡壽康等設局捐濟綢緞同業善舉立案遵守由。奉批：如詳立案，仰蘇州布政司會同臬司飭守，仍將每年收支各數造具徵信錄，通遠查考。繳。規條冊存。等因。到司。奉此，並據該府並詳前來，合就轉飭。等因，並奉藩憲批，本府具詳前由。奉批：此案現奉撫憲批司轉飭，仰即查照，另札遵行。仍候臬司批示。繳。規條冊存。等因。又奉署按察司積批開：如詳立案，即飭知照。仍將示式勒石，碑摩呈司查核。仍候撫憲暨藩司批示。繳。冊存。等因，各到府。奉此。查職監胡壽康等具稟綢緞店業公捐設局，議濟同業中貧苦身後無備，以及異（中缺）盤費，置地設立義冢等善事。所需經費，就各店消貨捐厘辦理，仍由浙莊按照蘇店置貨實

數，扣交公局支用，毋稍徇隱。業奉各憲批准勒石，以垂久遠。除由府給示飭遵外，札縣一體給示，飭令各綢莊遵照。等因。奉此。合行給示立案。為此示，仰捐濟綢緞公（中缺）為經理，以期善舉垂久。倘有地匪人等，在局滋擾，許即指名稟縣，以憑提究。地保徇庇，並處不貸。各宜凜遵毋違。特示遵。

道光二十四年正月初十日示。

1847, Yang Wensun 楊文蓀. “Qixiang Gongsuo Ji” 七襄公所記 [On the Qixiang Guild Office of Silk].

七襄公所者，前明姜貞毅先生寓居遺址也，在吳郡治西北隅寶琳寺之東。其先為袁副史祖庚宇，繼歸文文肅公，名曰藥圃。貞毅先生得之，更名敬亭山房。仲子實節乃闢為藝圃，見於名人題詠。迄今一百七十餘年，易主者屢矣。道光癸未、甲申間，郡中吳氏始葺而新之。余曾偕諸同人燕集於此，分韻賦詩，一時稱盛。嗣客遊江淮，不獲再至。迨己亥，吳氏將他徙，於是胡君壽康、張君如松擬創建會館，率先各墊五百金；吳中綢緞同業者，咸量力亦各墊多金，購營公所，名曰七襄，以為同業議事公局。俟後有新開店業，議定一體照捐襄其事，范君徵銓為之會計。局既定，乃疏池培山，堂軒樓館，亭台略約之屬，悉復舊觀。補植卉木，岭梅沼蓮，華實蕃茂，來遊者耳目疲於應接，手足倦乎攀曆，不異仲子當日矣。胡、張二君是舉，非徒為友朋會合燕閒愒息計也。吳中百貨萃聚，四方懋遷有無者輻輳，莫不有會館。綢緞肆方甲於天下，獨會館闕然未備，市價之低昂無以定，物色之良楛無以別，至於同業或有善舉，亦無從會集議行。茲園介乎闌闔之區，名肆近在跬步，其藝特便。爰籌公費，立歸條，如同業中有老病廢疾不能謀生者，有鰥寡孤獨無所倚籍者，有異鄉遠客貧困不能歸裡者，由各肆報之公局，令司月者核實，於公費中量為資助。其費則各肆酌捐五厘，按月匯交公局，籍而記之，以待諸用。既請郡守靖安舒公達於兩大府臬、方伯、廉訪，立案勒石，復移知浙江嘉、湖二郡，曉諭綢緞各肆，一體遵守。經緯詳備，意思深遠，可謂至矣。夫為茲園之主者，自昔多名臣高士，清操義照，或則風流文采，槃敦周旋，非徒侈土木、貯歌舞以夸耀庸妄者。比今改建會館，雖今昔人事不盡同，而諸君子勇於為善，崇實黜華，將使載之志乘，足以

垂遠而風世，洵與昔賢殊塗同歸，不負此勝境矣。糧儲觀察望江倪公，聞而善之，屬文蓀為之記。

文蓀嘗讀汪堯峰藝圃後二《記》、歸元恭匾額跋、顧雲美合刻詩文記，悉其顛末。今聞喜茲園之得所主也，故樂為書之。

大清道光二十有七年，歲在丁未五月，海寧養文蓀撰。儀徵程筌書。

元年，歲在乙亥，春三月，中統，穀旦。

1875, Zhu Chengji 褚成績. “Minlie Beiji” 憫烈碑記 [The Stele in Commemorating the Martyrs (who died in the Taiping Rebellion)].

七襄公所，為前明文肅公故宅。國初，姜貞毅先生居之，嗣以蕪落。道光間，業繪者鉤是地，鳩工葺治，園亭花木，饒有逸致，顏其額曰七襄，蓋由來舊矣。公所迤近閭門東，咸豐十年，粵逆陷蘇城，居民避寇者，奪門出，而賊騎自此入。男婦數百人，懼為所辱，匿公所，駢死於池。邑人吳大壩目擊之。城既復，繪商理舊業，清其池，徙骸骨而他瘞焉。而當日之死難於是者，無有臚列姓氏，上邀旌恤，時惻惻以為憾。久之，乃具狀前宰高君，請於池側築室，建總位，春秋致祭，兼撰文壽諸石。高君聽之，令舉祀典而碑故未鐫也。旋解任去，予適來受代。吳大壩復乞文紀其事。夫闡揚節烈，士大夫之責也。此數百人者，力屈勢窮，甘就一死。謂之見危授命，固無愧色。昔其姓名湮沒，既不得援建祠之例以達於朝官私土者，又不為闡幽隱而表彰之。數百年之後，無復識此間附有毅魄貞魂，死者有知，其曷以慰且以吳大壩等，激發忠義之氣，弗如所清，亦非所以扶人心、勵風節也。爰敘其顛末，俾勒貞珉以垂不朽雲。

光緒元年，歲在乙亥，春三月，中統，穀旦。

Appendix V. Friends and Relatives of the Garden Owners of Different Phases and the Years of their Births and Deaths

Tang Yin 唐寅：1470-1524

Wen Lin 文林 : (father of Wen Zhengming)

Wen Zhengming 文徵明 : 1470-1559

Yuan Zugeng 袁祖庚 : 1519-1590

Wen Zhenmeng 文震孟 : 1574-1636 (great-grandson of Zhengming)

Wen Bing 文秉 (Zhenmeng's son)

Wen Dian 文點 (Zhenmeng's grandson) : 1633-1704

Wen Han 文含 (Zhenmeng's great-grandson) : 1650?- ?

Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (Zhenmeng's younger brother) : 1584-1645

Wei Xi 魏禧 : 1624-1681

Wang Wan 汪琬 : 1624-1691

Gui Zhuang 歸莊 : 1612-1673

Jiang Cai 姜埰 : 1607-1673

Jiang Anjie 姜安節 : 1634- ? (Cai's first son)

Jiang Shijie 姜實節 : 1647-1709 (Cai's second son)

Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 : 1610-1695

#### Appendix VI. Poems Produced by Literati Visitors of Yipu

Leng Shimei 冷士帽. "Wen Taishi Yi wei Jiang Zhongzi Fu." 文太史椅為姜仲子賦 [On

Jiang's Second Son Receiving the Chair of Professor Wen].

憶昔明當嘉靖時，四海平寧無亂離。

衡山名德重天下，揮毫對客常于斯。  
衡山既沒存此椅，付與隆池門下子。  
隆池奄忽此椅存，復歸故物衡山孫。  
衡山之孫為相國，坐此謀謨補袞職。  
吁咄嗟，誰知相公沒後成永嘉，國難崩奔亂似麻。  
門閥一時漂沒盡，此椅流入堯峰家。  
堯峰文章天下著，置此堯峰讀書處。  
起居不或暫相離，把酒賦詩常此據。  
一朝謝忤作修文，堯峰之子持贈君。  
追惟想像前朝物，異代興亡安可云。  
此椅雖微百餘載，兵火身經幾更改。  
世間無事不滄桑，此物依然尚猶在。  
嗟君之家向來亦是飄零後，對此能無不懷舊。  
椅乎椅乎，倘君傲然擁書萬卷坐其旁，能令白屋生輝光。  
而今雖伴烏皮几，他日曾陪綠野堂。  
避世若非徐孺榻，逃時端是管寧牀。  
從茲千頃雲樓上，高對南注老莊。



Appendix VII. Dates of Important Events of Modernism in Architecture in China and Japan

China		Japan	
		1868	Meiji Restoration
		1876	A Japanese dwelling based on a Western style mansion added with Japanese decorative elements -- a proto- <i>teikan</i> style mansion was exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition.
		1883	A modified replica of the Phoenix Hall of Byōdō-in was exhibited at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago.
		1893 - 1909	Frank Lloyd Wright has practiced in Oak Park in the western suburbs of Chicago during which period his Prairie-style house was developed.
		1906	Okakura wrote the <i>Book of Tea</i> .
1911	The Movement of May 4 <sup>th</sup>		
		1922	Frank Lloyd Wright was commissioned to design the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo.
1926		1926	Shien-Sō [House of Purple Haze] by Sutemi Horiguchi was constructed.
		1929	<i>Kako no Kōsei</i> [Composition of the past] by Kishida Hideto was published.
		Late 1920s	The <i>teikan-heigō-shiki</i> (crown-topped style) which was first proposed by Shimoda Kikutaro became popular as an easy, practical way of representing Japanese-ness.
1930	Yingzao Xueshe 營造學社 was founded.		
1932	Liang and Lin's three-step thinking on how to turn the model of Chinese timber	1932	The exhibition of "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition"

	structure into the modernist architecture initially formed. <sup>224</sup>		was held at the Museum of Modern Art where the term “international style” was first proposed by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson.
1933	A replica of the Golden Temple of Jehol which was originally built in 1767 was established at the Chicago Century of Progress World's Fair. <sup>225</sup> Murphy's proposal of the Chinese Pavilion gained positive comments whereas Tong Jun, Xu Jingzhi and Wu Jingqi's proposal which in method resembles Horiguchi's House of the Purple Haze was criticized as “a failed attempt to capture ‘the really beautiful, artistic, and unique in Chinese architecture.’”	1933	Taut was invited to visit Katsura Imperial Villa and identified it as the masterpiece of functionalist architecture.
1935	Lin Yutang's <i>My Country, My People</i> was published in which Chinese garden and residence were introduced in Chapter Nine: The Art of Living.		
1936	Tong Jun published the article “Zhongguo Yuanlin: yi Jiangsu Zhejiang Liangsheng Yuanlin Weizhu” 中國園林——以江蘇、浙江兩省園林為主 [Chinese Garden: Concentrated on the Gardens of Two Provinces, Jiangsu and Zhejiang]. <sup>226</sup>	1936	Horiguchi published “Chashitsu no Shisō teki Haikei to Shikōsei” 茶室の思想的背景と其構成 [Background and Structure of the Idea of the Tea House].
1937	The draft of <i>Jiangnan Yuanlin Zhi</i> 江南園林志 by Tong Jun was finished and was sent to publish, but was not	Late 1930s	The Tennō-ruled nation-state intensified, Japan began its politico-economic influence under a pretext of

<sup>224</sup> Zhu, *Liang Sicheng*, 27-28.

<sup>225</sup> Wang, “Fang Rehe Putuo Zongcheng Si Songjingting Ji.”

<sup>226</sup> This article was originally published in *Tianxia Yuekan* 天下月刊 [All under Heaven Monthly] (Oct 1936). See also *Tong Jun Wenji* 童寓文集 [Collected Works of Tong Jun] vol. 1, (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 2000).

	published until the 1980s.		liberating Asia from Western domination, the so-called Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.
1941	Tong Jun 童寯 published “Zhongguo Jianzhu de Tedian” 中國建築的特點 [Features of Chinese Architecture] in which he criticizes the neoclassical style prevalent in the contemporary practices.		
		1942	Tange won the design competition of Daitōa Kinen Eizōbutsu [Greater East Asia Memorial Building].
1946	Liang went to America to learn about post-war architecture education.		
1949	The founding of People’s Republic of China		
1950	Liang published “Jianzhu de Minzu Xingshi” 建築的民族形式 [The National Form of Architecture] in which he returned to advocate for revivalist design.		
		1952	Frank Lloyd Wright recalled his wonder at reading <i>The Book of Tea</i> upon publication in his talk in New York entitled “The Destruction of the Box.”
1953	Liang published “Minzu Xingshi, Shehuizhuyi Neirong” 民族形式，社會主義內容 [National Form, Socialist Contents]. Liang introduced the concept of “translatable architecture,” probably	1953	Horiguchi published his book <i>Katsura</i> in which two articles written in English elaborated the issues on the diagonal composition of the <i>shoin</i> complex and the authorship of Katsura. These two issues were discussed again in Isozaki’s book <i>Katsura: Imperial Villa</i>

	<p>influenced by Nathaniel Cortland Curtis, <i>Architectural Composition</i>.<sup>227</sup></p> <p>Zhongguo Jianzhu Xiehui 中國建築協會 [Architectural Society of China] was founded.<sup>228</sup></p> <p>Liang presented at the first conference of the Architectural Society of China “Jianzhu Yishu Zhong Shehuizhuyi Xianshizhuyi he Minzuyichan de Xuexi yu Yunyong Wenti” 建設藝術中社會主義現實主義和民族遺產的學習與運用問題 [The Problem of Studying and Applying the Socialistic Realistic National Heritage in Constructional Arts].<sup>229</sup></p>		(1983).
1954	<p>The criticism of the “giant roof” began.<sup>230</sup></p> <p><i>Jianzhu Xuebao</i> 建築學報 [Architecture Journal] was founded.</p>	1954, Jan	<p>A full-scale modified replica of the Kyakuden of the Kōjōin was set up at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the event was published in <i>Kenchiku Zasshi</i> 建築雜誌 [Architecture Journal] in January.</p>
		1954, Oct	<p>Upon the exhibition of the Guest House of Kōjōin, Lewis Mumford’s article entitled “Windows and Gardens” was published in <i>New Yorker</i>.</p>
1955	Liang published “Dawuding Jiantao” 大		

<sup>227</sup> Zhu, *Liang Sicheng*, 157. See Nathaniel Cortland Curtis, *Architectural Composition*. Cleveland, Ohio: J. H. Jansen, 1923.

<sup>228</sup> The emblem of the Society was designed by Wu Mingwei 吳明偉 in 1980 and used till today. The proposal outstood from over 3000 proposals. “Ji Dongnan Daxue Chengshi Guihua Sheji Xueke Daitouren Wu Mingwei,” 記東南大學城市規劃設計學科帶頭人吳銘偉 in *Tongji Daxue Jianzhu yu Chengshi Guihua Jiechu Xiaoyou* 同濟大學建築與城市規劃學院傑出校友, ed. Tongji Daxue Jianzhu yu Chengshi Guihua Xueyuan 1 (Shanghai: Tongji Daxue Chubanshe, 2007): 133-134.

<sup>229</sup> Zhu, *Ibid*, 146-164. *The Presentation was briefed in Xin Jianshe* 新建設 [New Construction] (Feb 1954).

<sup>230</sup> Zhu, *Ibid*, 170.

	屋頂檢討 [The Self-Criticism of the Giant Roof]		
		1957	Le Corbusier's Sainte Marie de La Tourette was finished.
		1958	Tange designed the Municipal Building of Kurashiki city. The modified replica of the Kyakuden of the Kōjōin was transported to Philadelphia and re-established as a permanent building at Fairmount Park on the site of the Centennial Exposition of 1876.
		1960	The book <i>Katsura</i> by Tange Kenzō, in which Tange reinterpreted Katsura as containing Jōmonesque features was published. Yasuhiro Ishimoto's photos of Katsura were included in this book.
1972	Liang passed away; PRC and the U.S. resumed trade relations; Charles Jencks announced "the death of modern architecture."		
1979	Ming Xuan as a gift from China was established in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in memorial of the reestablishment of the official diplomatic communication between China and America.		
		1983	Isozaki published <i>Katsura: Imperial Villa</i> in which the hitherto dominant discourse about Katsura by the modern architects, Western and Japanese were collected.
1986	Peng Yigang published <i>Zhongguo Gudian Yuanlin Fenxi</i> 中國古典園林分		

	析 [Analysis of Chinese Classical Garden] in which the composition of the layout of the Chinese garden was elaborately analyzed. <sup>231</sup>		
2000	Yipu was inscribed on the Extended UNESCO World Heritage List of Classical Gardens of Suzhou. The Library of Wenzheng College designed by Wang Shu was built.		
2004	The first project of Xiangshan Collage of China Academy of Art was built, signifying the “performative” perspective officially started to be applied in the discussions of the “Chinese-ness.”		
2011	<i>Yipu Zhi</i> 藝圃志 [The Collective Record of Yipu] was compiled by Suzhoushi Yuanlin he Lühua Guanliju 蘇州市園林和綠化管理局 (unpublished)	2011	Isozaki published <i>Japan-ness</i> in Architecture in which he spent a whole chapter discussing Katsura around the topic of “Japanese-ness” in architecture

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<sup>231</sup> Peng Yigang 彭一剛. *Zhongguo Gudian Yuanlin Fenxi* 中國古典園林分析 [Analysis of Chinese Classical Garden]. Beijing: Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 1986.

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